

HISTORY OF THE PHILIPPINES

ECONOMIC SOCIAL POLITICAL

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PREFACE

Some years ago a circular letter issued by the Director of Education and received by the author contained the following announcement: "A real text for one semester's use, laying stress on the life and economic development of the Filipino people, is wanted. It should maintain a considerable degree of fairness to all those who have played a part in the development of the Islands, and it should not be a mere historical narrative, nor should it plead a special cause, nor give voice to a particular grievance."

The present work is a response to that call. The author is convinced both from personal knowledge and from conversations with school officials in Manila and the field that "there is an urgent and continually growing need for such a text as discussed above," to quote the Director's letter. To meet this need, to provide the more advanced public-school students with something more than "a mere historical narrative," to acquaint them with the development of their own people and not alone with the achievements of the officials who have ruled them, — these have been the main incentives to the production of this work.

In order to set the minds of other educators at ease concerning the number of references given in this text, and the use made of direct quotations from these references, it should be stated by way of explanation that even among the mature it is a common tendency to arrive at conclusions without sufficient facts to back them up. Indeed, we are all prone to "plead a special cause," or "give voice to a particular grievance," and unless we restrain ourselves we unconsciously allow our wish to determine our thoughts. As far as is possible and consistent

with clearness and brevity, the author has preferred to rely on direct quotations either from contemporary documents or from known authorities. It is believed that in this way not only is the student brought into direct contact with otherwise unavailable standard documents and authorities, but the instructor, who is expected to have read more widely than his pupil is given a ready list of references for his greater convenience. More than thirteen years' teaching of a pioneer course in the University of the Philippines — Economic Development of the Philippines — has convinced the author that there is indeed no end to knowledge and it is to aid his fellow instructors to develop that mental attitude by continuous study and investigation that the sources of data contained in this book have been included. Furthermore the incorporation of essential and pertinent quotations from the writings of those who took part in the events of history under consideration is in line with modern textbook writing.

The method of treatment is partly chronological and partly topical. The periods into which Philippine development has been divided correspond to those distinguished by Dr. T. H. Pardo de Tavera in his "Results of the Economic Development of the Philippines" and by Manuel de Azcarraga y Palmero in his *La Libertad de Comercio en las Islas Filipinas*. It has seemed proper however to combine Dr. Tavera's two periods of commercial liberty and national upbuilding into one period known as the period of commercial liberty and reforms. It must be recognized that the changed conditions of the last twenty five years were but the logical result of forces set in motion during the nineteenth century with the opening of the ports, the coming of Spaniards and other foreigners with advanced ideas, the increase in wealth of the people, the improvement of means of communication, the travel and study of Filipinos in Europe, and the increased opportunities for education.

The particular attention given to the period of discovery and settlement perhaps needs some explanation. From the point of

view of Filipino development, as well as from that of the evolution of human culture in general that was the most significant period, for it marked the fundamental transition stage which resulted in the adoption of a new culture, — the European and Christian

In closing the author offers special thanks to the following to Director Luther B Bewley of the Bureau of Education, for suggesting the idea of preparing this book, to President Rafael Palma of the University of the Philippines, for the Foreword and for valuable and inspiring information concerning contemporary events, to Gabriel Manalac, Assistant Director of Education, for helpful data concerning the school curriculum, to Dr James A Robertson, co author of Blair and Robertson's *The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898*, who read the proofs and made many helpful suggestions, to V Carmack of the Bureau of Insular Affairs, for important materials furnished, to Gabriel A Bernardo, Librarian of the University of the Philippines, for courteous assistance, to Eulogio B Rodriguez chief of the Filipiniana Division in the Philippines Library, to Hugo H Miller, for assistance and the use of certain illustrations, to Dean Maximo M Kalaw, to Jose Abad Santos, former Secretary of Justice, to Dean Francisco Benitez, to Director José G Sanvictores, to Dr T H Pardo de Tavera and his family, for the use of their valuable historical collection, to Dr Alejandro Albert, to Justice George A Malcolm, to Justice Ignacio Villamor formerly President of the University of the Philippines to Senator Santiago Fonacier, to President Camilo Osias of the National University, to Professor H O Beyer for valuable information, and finally to my father, Judge Eugenio Benitez, whose choice library of old Spanish books is a veritable intellectual treasury, and has been a constant inspiration to those of us whose *uso de razon* dates back only to the American occupation. The author is indebted to all the publishers who have given their permission for the use of quoted material

The author is peculiarly indebted to the courtesy of The Arthur H. Clark Company, publishers of Blair and Robertson's monumental history entitled *The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898*, for permission to reprint extended excerpts from this work. As will be seen, the present book depends greatly for its success upon the ready availability of this series, and it is hoped that all high schools will be supplied therewith.

CONRADO BENITEZ

MANILA

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FOREWORD

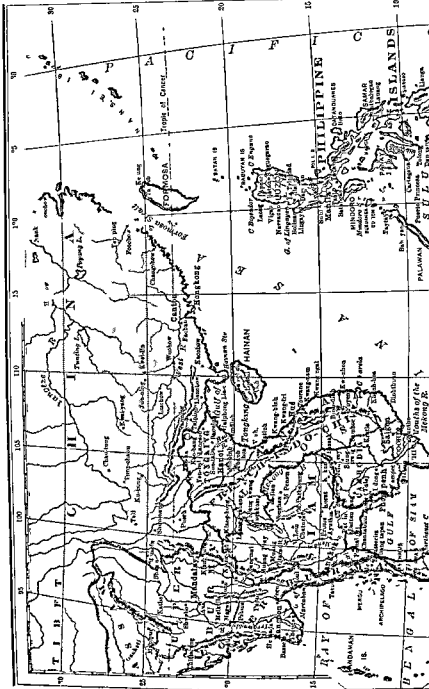
Research and thorough-going scholarship in general are the basic elements that underlie the proper development of history, science, and literature. There can really be no academic progress where these two essentials are wanting. Historical or literary works carry the stamp of permanence when they are the products of both. We must develop these two motivating forces among our men of letters that we may have worthy contributions to Filipino intellectual advancement.

That the *History of the Philippines, Economic, Social, and Political*, by Dean Conrado Benitez should have been adopted by the Board of Texts of the Philippine Government for the use of our public schools is a recognition of this fact and an indication of the commendable tendency of giving the proper support and encouragement to works that show the painstaking care and study of the researcher and the scholar.

It is my hope that the public will know how to reward those who as pioneers in this field are endeavoring to describe Philippine conditions and place them before the eyes of the world with the unbiased knowledge of students of history.

RAFAEL PALMA

PRESIDENT OF THE UNIVERSITY OF THE PHILIPPINES



HISTORY OF THE PHILIPPINES

INTRODUCTION: THE LAND AND THE PEOPLE

CHAPTER I

THE LAND AND ITS RESOURCES

Two factors determining progress. What two factors determine a country's progress? They are its *land, or its natural* resources, and the character of its people. In studying the development of the Philippines, it is advisable to review our knowledge of the land and of the people, since it is the interaction of these two factors that brings progress.

By *land*, we mean the physical environment in which man lives. It includes not only land proper with its surface and subterranean wealth, but also climate and all the other characteristics which go to make up climatological conditions. Land includes the natural resources, or the materials out of which man derives the things needed for his existence.

Among the features which enter into our conception of land are the following: the geographical situation of the country, its area, its coast line (to ascertain whether harbors and bays exist), its mountains and rivers (to estimate the water power available for economic purposes and transportation), its fauna and flora, and its mineral resources. Under climate are included temperature (as affecting the life of man, animals, and plants) and the amount of rainfall (as determining the fertility of the soil and the frequency of storms and winds).

How these two factors affect each other It is obvious that the land and the people are the two factors which combine to produce social progress. The most lavishly endowed land cannot yield its share of wealth unless the people inhabiting it are able to utilize their own natural resources to advantage. On the other hand the ablest people on earth cannot make a naturally barren land produce more than the limitations of nature will allow. It is true that man can change his physical environment to a certain extent and in that sense is master of nature yet in the long run his action is limited by the influence of his physical environment.

Nevertheless it should be emphasized that man's mastery of nature is the chief characteristic and the greatest achievement of civilization. The development of culture is gauged in a large measure by the growing ability of the people to conquer the forces of nature and subject them to the uses of man. In the upward development of human society from earliest times we may distinguish the principal stages characteristic of cultural progress: first the direct appropriation stage when man depended upon the spontaneous products of nature gathering wild fruits and hunting wild animals for his food, second the pastoral stage when he began to overcome nature by taming wild animals and taking them with him in his wanderings, third the agricultural stage when he began to settle down on a definite piece of ground on which he built his shelter and planted his food crops instead of roaming round in search of them, fourth the handicraft stage when he lived in towns and made articles in exchange for other articles (that is when a division of labor was ushered in), and fifth the industrial stage when man attained a wonderful mastery over all the forces of nature as shown in his ingenious inventions which made possible the manufacture of more goods and production on a greater and wider scale.

Man who has to live in a world of nature must perforce learn to subdue the physical or material forces surrounding

him. Hence we have the development of science and the inventions which represent man's conquest of nature. As long as man is not able to utilize the forces of nature to his advantage, so long will he remain their slave, unable to progress in the realm of the spirit because of his inability to establish the physical foundation of progress.

We are ready now to consider the physical foundation of Philippine progress. The present chapter is devoted to a discussion of this subject.

I. THE LAND

Area. The feature of most importance in considering the physical greatness of a country is its expanse of territory, for the population of any country is limited to some extent by its area. Is the Philippine territory capable of supporting a large population? In this respect the Philippines are favored by nature: the vegetation is luxuriant, and the crops are abundant; consequently the Islands can support a large population. The total land area of our country is 115,026 square miles. It is some 7000 square miles smaller than the combined areas of the British Isles, and is nearly as large as Spain; Luzon alone is equal to the combined areas of Denmark, Belgium, and Holland; and the fertile island of Mindanao has an area almost equal to that of Portugal. Cuba is only about one third as large; and the Hawaiian Islands, one seventeenth as large. The Philippines are twice as large as the New England States, and larger than the states of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Delaware together. According to the last official census, that of 1918, this country can comfortably support a population of 80,000,000 inhabitants. The water surface of the Philippines is no less than 700,000 square miles.

The coast line, rivers, and lakes. It is obvious that an extensive seacoast, with good bays and harbors, and navigable rivers and lakes are of great advantage to a nation. With these the Philippines are richly endowed. The archipelago has a coast

line of 11 440 statute miles, which exceeds that of the United States. There are thirty one fine harbors and eight land-locked straits. The bays and gulfs of importance are Manila, Subic, Batangas, Tayabas, Hondagua, Iligan, Illana, Nasipit, Sibuguey and Sarangani bays, and Lingayen, Ragay, Lagonoy, and Davao gulfs. The principal straits are San Bernardino, San Juanico, Surigao, and Basilan, and the Verde Island passage. Manila Bay, with an area of 770 square miles and a coast line of 120 miles, is the finest harbor in the entire Far East. All the principal islands and groups of islands, except the island of Bohol, have harbors adequate for the largest vessels in all kinds of weather and at all seasons.

Nearly all the principal islands have important river systems. In Luzon are the Rio Grande de Cagayan, 220 miles long, draining 16 000 square miles of territory, the Rio Grande de Pampanga emptying into Manila Bay through a dozen mouths, the Agno, the Abra, the Bued, and the Pasig. The largest river in the Philippines is the Rio Grande de Mindanao, 330 miles long. The Agusan River, also in Mindanao, is third in size. Mindoro has sixty rivers and Samar has twenty six. In Panay there are the Jalsur and Panay rivers, and in Negros, the Davao and Lanao rivers. All the larger rivers are navigable for steamers and launches or light craft for distances of from twenty to two hundred miles.

Mindanao, especially the basin of the Agusan, has a vast number of lakes, among the largest being Lake Lanao, Lake Mainit, and Lake Iligan. Laguna de Bay, near Manila in Luzon is the largest in the Islands. The others are Lake Naujan in Mindoro, Taal and Bonbon in the Luzon province of Batangas, and Lake Bito in Leyte.

Water power. The amount of water power available for industrial use in a country is an important factor in the development of its people. The extensive river systems found in all the principal islands are potential sources of water power. Relative to this, a former governor general of the Philippines says

I believe that water power can be developed in sufficient quantities and within reasonable limit of expense to take care of the manufacturing necessities of the Islands, and possibly of the island transportation.¹ The Agno River of the Island of Luzon, the Agusan River of the Island of Mindanao, and several others, of which perhaps surveys have not yet been made, are capable of supplying ample power for all the needs of the country within the radius of their sites for a great many years to come.

Minerals — coal, iron, iron ore, other metals, and non-metallic minerals. One of the four basic industries supporting material civilization is mining. The materials for the development of this industry are found in the Philippines, the mineral products, in the order of their money value, being: (1) gold, (2) salt, (3) stone, (4) coal, (5) sand and gravel, (6) lime, (7) clay for pottery, (8) clay for brick and tile, (9) iron ore, (10) mineral waters, (11) bituminous rocks, (12) silver, (13) sulphur.²

For industrial purposes coal, as a source of power, is the most important of all minerals. The Philippines are fortunate in having a potential supply of coal. Nearly all the islands in the archipelago, and the majority of the provinces, are known to contain coal. In quality the coal ranges from black granite to semi-anthracite. Conservative estimates of the Bureau of Science show that there are in sight at least 3,500,000 tons of black granite and 1,000,000 tons of sub-bituminous coal, while the potential tonnage is as follows:³

Black granite	26,500 000 tons
Sub bituminous	31,500,000 tons
Bituminous or semi anthracite	3,500,000 tons

Next in industrial importance to the fuel supplies in our list of natural resources come iron and iron ore. Valuable deposits

¹ W. Cameron Forbes, Philippine Commission Report, 1908

² See "The Mineral Resources of the Philippine Islands," 1919-1920. Bureau of Science Publication, Manila

³ "Industrial Possibilities in the Philippines" *Bulletin No 54*, Bureau of Science Publication, Manila

of high grade hematite are found in several places in the Philippines. The three principal deposits are in Angat near the town of Sibal Springs in Bulacan, Nambulao in the Camarines provinces and between Cigaquit and Cantilan in north eastern Surigao. These deposits are undeveloped but careful examination by the Bureau of Science showed that there are over 500 000 000 metric tons of available ore in these deposits.

The iron produced annually from Bulacan ores by primitive smelting amounts to over 100 tons. The Camarines deposit is one of the largest available deposits of high grade ores and is ideally situated for water transportation. The Surigao deposit is one of the largest undeveloped deposits of the world. When these deposits are worked they will develop an immense industry in this country.

After iron, copper ranks as the most necessary metal in the industrial arts. The copper deposits of Mankayan in Mountain Province have been worked for years and are the largest known in the Philippines. Large amounts of high grade copper have been shipped out and there are 500 000 tons of 2.5 per cent ore available that might profitably be worked. Copper deposits are found in many provinces but little is known about them.

Silver, lead and zinc also occur in several places in this country. Until recently as far as is known silver unalloyed with gold or in galena had not been found anywhere in the Philippines but from the Acupan Camp of the Baguio district pure silver has now been reported. Most of the silver produced in the Islands however comes alloyed with gold there is also a very appreciable amount in the lead ores of Marinduque and Cebu but no large deposits have been discovered in the Philippines.

Manganese occurs in Ilocos Norte, in Pangasinan, in Masbate and in a few other provinces.

Gold still occupies the highest place of all the mineral products in the Philippines. The Aroroy district in Masbate leads the others in gold production and the Benguet district

comes second. The value of the gold produced in the Philippine mines during 1920 was approximately ₱2,500,000. New rich deposits of gold have recently been discovered in the Benguet district.

Salt takes first place among the nonmetallic minerals. Most of our domestic salt is produced from solar evaporation of sea water. However, in some parts of the Islands, especially in



FIG 1 SALT SPRINGS IN NUEVA VIZCAYA

Courtesy of Bureau of Science

northern Luzon, there are hot salt springs (Fig 1) from which a very considerable quantity of salt is secured. The best-known salt springs in Luzon are at Mainit near Bontoc, and at Asin near Duguías, both in the Cordillera Central.

Practically all the stone quarried in the Philippines is used either for concrete construction or for macadam roads. The principal building stone is a volcanic tuff known as Maycauayan or Guadalupe stone. The principal ornamental stone is Romblon marble.

Practically all the sulphur mined in the Philippines comes from Silay Occidental Negros Deposits of fair size are known on Camiguin Island in the Babuyans

Asbestos has been mined on the old Dungon Dungon estate in Ilocos Norte

Cement production has been undertaken at Binangonan on Laguna de Bay At Naga and at Cebu there are cement factories operated by the National Cement Company

There are many kinds of mineral waters in the Philippines Bottled water to the value of about ₱100 000 is imported into this country every year although all of this could be replaced by domestic waters of equal quality

Bituminous limestone is being produced by the Leyte Asphalt and Mineral Oil Company Ltd near Balit in Leyte Some coralline and crystalline limestone suitable for the manufacture of lime occurs throughout the Philippines There is no reason for the importation of lime The increasing production of sugar by modern methods has so augmented the demand for lime that its manufacture promises to be a live industry Conditions are very favorable in the Philippines for the commercial manufacture from sand and lime of bricks glass tiles marbles and ornamental stone

Petroleum is another mineral product which may possibly become an industrial asset depending upon the results of drilling operations on the Bondoc peninsula in Tayabas province It occurs also in the provinces of Cebu Iloilo Capiz and Leyte as well as in Mindanao

Animal life The Philippines are not especially rich in animal life there are no large carnivorous animals and the only large mammals which are common in the wild state are several species of deer and hogs and in remote regions two or three kinds of wild buffalo There are however, domesticated species which are of great economic significance The water buffalo has from pre Spanish days thrived in this country Thousands of horses and cattle introduced by the Spaniards

have become adapted to the conditions of the Philippines, and the efforts of recent years to improve their breed promise the development of great ranches. Of the smaller domestic animals, the ones most likely to be economically profitable are goats and hogs.

Of far greater importance from an economic standpoint are the fish and marine products which abound in the waters surrounding the islands. The value of the fishponds in the vicinity of Manila alone is about ₱6,000,000. Every day this city buys fresh fish to the value of ₱5000. About 5,000,000 window shells are used each year in the building operations of Manila, and there is a demand for these shells in other countries for making windows, lamp shades, and screens. The Philippine waters are extremely rich in sponges, although up to the present time the industry has received little attention. The shells used for making buttons are collected from many localities. Pearls and pearl shells are also a great source of wealth to the people of the southern provinces.

The Philippines are rich in species of birds. The commonly domesticated kinds do well in this country, and in the future may serve as the basis of a flourishing industry.

Forests The virgin forests of the Philippines cover 40,000 square miles, or about 100,000 square kilometers. In addition to these there are about 20,000 square miles of second growth forests, part of which furnishes the present supply of timber and firewood for local use; these forests, if conserved, will grow up to increase the future supply of timber. The commercial forests are found in Luzon, Mindoro, Samar, Leyte, Negros, Mindanao, Palawan, and in all the other principal islands except Bohol and Cebu. There are few large water sources; it is true, but these forests are more accessible than those in North America, no point, even in the largest islands, being more than fifty or seventy-five miles from the coast. Furthermore, most of these forests will be accessible to any railways that may be constructed in the future.

About three fourths of the virgin forests consist principally of lauan trees of the dipterocarp family, furnishing all the export timber of the Islands. These forests range from 10 000 feet to 50 000 feet board measure, per hectare. More than 99 per cent is owned by the Philippine government.

Forestry is another one of the four basic industries of man. Our civilization is built on wood — in one form or another we use it constantly throughout our lives. But wood is not the only product derived from the forests, there are innumerable minor products such as rattan, almaciga, gogo, and other plants which supply the raw materials for many of our industries. Unfortunately, however, the people of the Philippines have not paid much attention to the exploitation of the vast forest resources.

II FACTORS AFFECTING AGRICULTURE

Fertility of the soil. One of the four basic industries is agriculture, the development of which depends upon a good climate and a fertile soil. These factors are of great importance in promoting the welfare, prosperity, and material comfort of the people.

The Philippine Islands consist generally of vast alluvial plains and mountain ranges with abrupt transitions between the two. The plains contain the very richest soil, the mountains are covered with a dense growth of timber trees. The archipelago is, for the most part, of volcanic origin, most of the surface of the islands being floored with volcanic soils and ashes.

The fertility of the soil, together with the favorable temperature and rainfall, makes the Philippine vegetation exceedingly luxuriant. It is a beautiful land. The tropical forests, the plains and the mountains, the rivers and the sea, the white beaches and the coral reefs, all combine to make a land of unusual beauty. There is no other country in the Orient possessing features of beauty and grandeur in such number and variety.

Temperature. The most important elements of climate are temperature, rainfall, humidity, cloudiness, and wind. In the Philippines temperature and rainfall are considered the climatic elements of greatest importance: our tropical climate is due to the temperature; our various seasons are due to the distribution of rainfall.

The most salient characteristic of Philippine climate is the regularity of its temperature. The mean annual temperature for the whole archipelago is 26.9° C. The difference between the annual average temperatures of the northernmost stations, Aparri and Basco, is less than 1° C., the annual average of the former being 26.6° C. and that of the latter 25.8° C. During the seven months of the year from April to October the mean monthly temperature ranges from 26.9° C. to 28.1° C., and the colder months, from November to March, have a mean monthly temperature of from 25.4° C. to 26.5° C. May is the warmest month and January the coldest.

The regularity of a mildly warm temperature throughout the year makes possible the growing of certain crops during the whole year. For example, rice is planted even during the dry season where water is available by means of irrigation. The various economic animals can thrive in this warm climate, and where a good water supply can be had, as is generally the case all over the Islands, flourishing animal industries are awaiting the *entrepreneurs* who can develop them. The absence of a long, cold winter and the ease with which food materials can be produced deprive the inhabitants of any warm region of the natural incentive to produce in order to save. Thrift is a virtue imposed by a niggardly environment; where nature is lavish man has to be educated to be thrifty.

The climate of the Philippines has been greatly misunderstood. Although much that has been written concerning the climate of the Philippines has reference to Manila and its environs alone, yet the general impression prevails that ours is a hot climate. As a matter of fact, the nights, except in

congested quarters are comparatively cool even in Manila. By ascending the mountains one can always find relief from the heat of the plains during the warm season. As former Governor Yeater has pointed out

For travelers what are called the winter months in the temperate zones are as perfect as can be found anywhere upon the globe, and the temperature at this season corresponds in time to our spring months but the temperature only rarely approximates 100 [38° C] degrees and the heat is tempered by the constant sea breeze which blows unremittingly six months from the northeast and six months from the southeast¹. There are no such hot days and hot nights as are prevalent all over the central Mississippi valley. Generally comfort requires a light covering every night.

Rainfall The amount and distribution of moisture are very important elements of climate. It is on account of the rainfall that we have a variation of seasons. In fact the only two seasons distinguished in this country are the wet and the dry seasons.

The distribution of rainfall in the Philippines has been divided by the Weather Bureau² into the four following types (Fig. 2)

1 Two pronounced seasons—dry in winter and spring wet in summer and autumn. This is the type shown by the monthly distribution of rainfall on the western part of the islands of Luzon, Mindoro, Negros, Palawan, and the western and southern part of Panay. In other words all the western half of the Philippines bordering on the China Sea belongs to this type.

2 No dry season with a very pronounced maximum rain period in winter. The regions with this type of rainfall are Catanduanes, Sorsogon, the eastern part of Albay, the eastern and northern part of North and South Camarines, a great por-

¹ Census of the Philippine Islands, 1918, Vol. I.

² Facts and Figures about the Philippines. Bureau of Printing, Manila.

those regions which do not directly face either the Pacific Ocean or the China Sea

4 No very pronounced maximum rain period, and no dry season This type covers Batanes province, the easternmost part of northern Luzon from Cagayan province one third of the way down the Tayabas east coast, the western part of North and South Camarines and Albay provinces, the Bondoc peninsula the eastern part of Mindoro, Marinduque, a small portion of Samar near Calbayog, the western part of Leyte, the northernmost part of Cebu the islands of Bohol, Jolo, and Basilan a great portion of Mindanao including the provinces of Lanao and Cotabato the western part of Davao and Misamis provinces and the western part of Zamboanga province In these regions there are no seasons of heavy rainfall but throughout the year there is a sufficient amount of rain ¹

Because these different types of rainfall prevail in the Philippines there are different planting seasons in the various regions, and different economic plants are cultivated in each region For example, in the first type, where two pronounced seasons exist, one wet and one dry, it is generally impossible to have more than one crop of rice on account of the long dry spell, but plants or trees which dislike much water and thrive best in a warm and dry climate (for example mangoes) are the ones most profitable to raise On the other hand, where there is no dry season and a maximum rainy period prevails, as in the second type described, rice is planted throughout the whole year, such plants or trees as hemp and coconuts, which require much water, thrive best in this region and are consequently the ones cultivated by the people Therefore the division of agricultural production in the Philippines is not a mere accident, but is the natural result of the varying climates prevailing in the different regions

¹ See climate map showing seasons and rainfall in Census of the Philippine Islands 1918 Vol I p 352

Winds Both the velocity of the wind and the frequency with which it comes from different directions are considered important climatic factors. As a matter of fact, the distribution of rainfall is determined by wind directions. Of more interest to us, however, are the typhoons, because of their great influence on the climate and weather of the Philippines. The Weather Bureau says that "our rainfall occurs in summer and autumn," and that "many of our prevailing winds, particularly in summer, [and] the great wind velocity of several months for a good number of our stations, are to be attributed to the influence of typhoons"¹. Most of the greatest changes of weather (precipitation, humidity, cloudiness, and winds) in our archipelago are caused solely by typhoons.

The remarkable fact about the typhoons of the Philippines, according to the charts of the Weather Bureau showing the tracks of the severest ones from 1903 to 1918, is that most of them strike Luzon Island, especially the northern part. Occasionally a typhoon passes over the Visayan Islands, and at one time, in October, 1904, one passed south of Mindanao, but Mindanao proper and the neighboring islands are out of the typhoon district. Because of this and the fact that Mindanao has a sufficient rainfall the year round, the climate of this island is ideal for human habitation and for the development of agriculture. With this ideal climate and a rich soil Mindanao and the neighboring islands are especially well adapted to the cultivation of certain plants most needed by the industries of the world, such as coconut, rubber, sugar cane, and hemp.

III STRATEGIC COMMERCIAL POSITION OF THE PHILIPPINES

A glance at the map preceding page 1 shows the central position of the Philippines in relation to neighboring islands and to Asia. It was this location which made the Philippines

¹ Census of the Philippine Islands 1918, Vol I p 445

the great commercial market of the Far East, the distributing center of Oriental goods to the West and a great religious center

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QUESTIONS AND TOPICS FOR FURTHER STUDY

- 1 What two factors determine a country's progress? (Reference No. 1)
- 2 How do those factors affect each other? (Reference No. 2)
- 3 Compare the area of the Philippines with the areas of some independent countries in Europe. (References Nos. 3, 4, 5)
- 4 What population can the Philippine land area support? (Reference No. 4)
- 5 What basic industries support the present material civilization?
- 6 Can these industries be developed in the Philippines?
- 7 Write on any of these topics: mineral resources of the Philippines, agricultural resources, forest resources, marine resources. (References Nos. 3, 4, 5, 6, 9)
- 8 Show the relation between the study of the natural sciences and the development of industries. (References Nos. 1, 2)
- 9 Can a country become wealthy if it neglects to develop its natural resources?

CHAPTER II

THE PEOPLE

Who are the people into whose hands the wonderful natural resources described in the preceding chapter have fallen, and upon whose ability to master the forces of nature will depend the ultimate destiny of the Philippines? (Fig. 3.)

I. THE MALAYS

The Malays were the last of the migrating peoples who came to the Philippines. The Malayan race is believed to have originated in the southeastern part of the continent of Asia, from which it spread into the Malay peninsula and neighboring islands to the south and the east. The Malays who came to the Philippines may be classified into three groups: (1) the pagans, (2) the Mohammedans, and (3) the Christians.

The pagans. The pagans, by reason of their mental, social, and economic characteristics, are considered semicivilized. They are subdivided into four main cultural groups, the Tinguianes, the Bontoks, the Igorot, and the Ifugao, all dwelling in the mountainous interior of northern Luzon.

The Mohammedans. The Mohammedans are divided into at least seven ethnographic groups, differing more or less in culture and dialect. They live almost exclusively in the Sulu Archipelago, in the southern end of the province of Palawan, and in the provinces of Zamboanga, Cotabato, and Lanao in Mindanao. A great majority of these Filipinos descended from natives who were converted to Mohammedanism by a relatively small number of outsiders (coming into these islands from Sumatra and the Malay peninsula through Borneo)

sometime after the fourteenth century. The descendants of these natives still constitute the ruling classes, and are the strongest advocates of the Mohammedan faith. However, the Arabian and the Straits Malay culture, which accompanied the advent of Mohammedanism, must not be considered as the first civilization to influence the Philippine peoples. Long before the coming of the Arabian faith into the eastern archipelago the Malays of the Philippines had been in contact with two still more ancient civilizations, those of China and of India.

The Christians — Indian influence The Christianized Malays who today constitute almost ninety eight per cent of our population have behind them the influence of an ancient Indian culture. The first contact of India with the Filipinos was prehistoric. It goes back to the very origin of the Malay race which is regarded as the product of Hindu-Mongolian mixture in southeastern Asia. There is evidence that the elementary prehistoric culture of the Indonesian peoples came from India or southeastern Asia.

Of the historic contact with Indian civilization there is much more information available. Before the Europeans came to the East Indian archipelago two Hindu Malayan empires had succeeded one after the other, in bringing under one government the islands inhabited by the Malays, including the Philippines. The first of these was the Shri Vishaya, which existed from the eighth until the twelfth century, when it was overpowered by a greater empire, the Majapahit, which reached the height of its prestige early in the fourteenth century.

This great state lasted however, but for a short time¹. Like other even more powerful nations that have expanded too rapidly and over too wide an area, Majapahit was overwhelmed and destroyed by a danger near at home. From Malacca as a center, the tide of Mohammedanism had been rising in the East Indies and

¹ Census of the Philippine Islands 1918 Vol II p 940

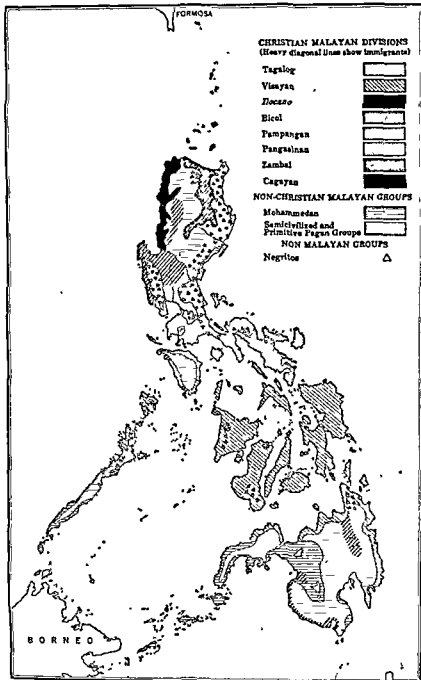


FIG. 3. MAP OF PEOPLES OF THE PHILIPPINES (AFTER BEYER)

about 1478 A.D. the Javan empire was completely overthrown. The tributary states quickly fell away, and soon transferred their allegiance to the new Mohammedan empire of Malacca. This combination in turn, however, was broken up in less than a century by the invading Portuguese and Spanish from Europe. Later came the Dutch and English. The European conquest was checked by mutual rivalries. Because of the conflict and jealousy between the

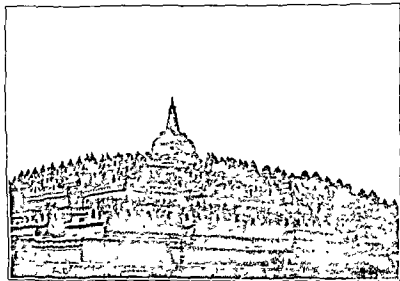


FIG 4 BORO-BUDUR

A wonderful Buddhist temple in Java, the work of Indianized Malays

European nationalities, many small Mohammedan states were enabled to survive in a state of practical independence until quite recent times. Among the latter were our sultanes of Sulu and Mindanao, though the weaker states in the Bisayan Islands and in Luzon quickly submitted and adopted the Spanish culture and beliefs.

The great stronghold of this Hindu influence was the island of Java. Not only were Hindu-ruled states established there, but also great cities and temples built of stone (Fig. 4). Some of the ruins still exist. This culture spread throughout the

coast regions of the eastern archipelago. Javanese colonies were established at Palembang in Sumatra, Banjarmassin in southern Borneo, and Makassar in Celebes, and from these places Javan culture extended its influence into the southern Philippines. In various parts of the Philippines are evidences of the existence of Indian culture at some time in the past.

Sulu, Lanao, Palawan, Mindoro, Panay (Fig. 5), Cebu, the Pulangi and Agusan river basins in Mindanao (Fig. 6), and Manila are specifically mentioned as having been under Hindu influence. Professor H. Otley Beyer says, in fact, that only the mountain region of northern Luzon seems to have escaped that influence.

The following gives an idea of the type of Hindu culture thus introduced into this country during the days of Javanese dominance:

The Indian culture made itself felt most strongly in the political, social, religious, and esthetic life of the populations among whom it spread.¹ Economic influence seems to have been relatively less important, except perhaps in metal-working and in the art of war, though modes of dress and of personal ornamentation were also greatly affected. At the time of the Spanish discovery, not only were the more civilized Filipinos using the Indian syllabaries for writing, but their native mythology, folk-lore and written literature all



FIG. 5. DESIGN ON A HOUSE IN PANAY, SHOWING HINDU INFLUENCE

Courtesy of Bureau of Education

¹H. Otley Beyer, "The Philippines before Magellan," in *Asia Magazine*, October, 1921.

had a distinct Indian cast [Fig 7] The same was true of their codes of laws and their names for all sorts of political positions and procedure. The most cultured Philippine languages contain many Sanskrit words, and the native art a noticeable sprinkling of Indian design. A strong Brahmanistic religious element was also certainly introduced, though it seemed to have affected chiefly a limited class, while the mass of the people still clung to their more ancient pagan worship.

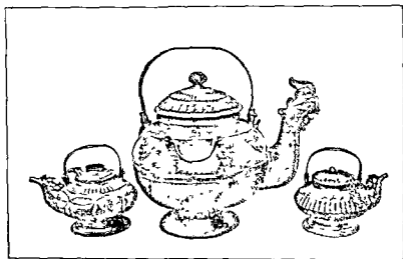


FIG 6 CARVED SILVER JARS FROM MINDANAO

Courtesy of Dr Pardo de Tavera

A long list of similarities in minor traits and customs might be cited, but in the main these would only serve to emphasize the general statements already made. Except recent European culture, the Indian influences are on the whole the most profound that have affected Philippine civilization. It should be kept in mind, however, that these influences did not reach the Philippines directly from India, but came probably through Hindus or Hinduized Malays already long resident in Sumatra and Java.

The Christians—Chinese influence. The Chinese relationship with the Malays seems to have extended over a period of at least fifteen hundred years. The earlier contact was almost wholly on the coasts along which the ships traded, and only

in later times did Chinese merchants actually establish themselves in Malay lands. There were few, if any, Chinese settlements in these lands before the thirteenth century, but later they increased rapidly. The settlers, in most cases, married native women and brought up their children as Malays rather than as Chinese.

According to Professor Beyer, the general character of Chinese influence in Malaysia was, and is, economic rather

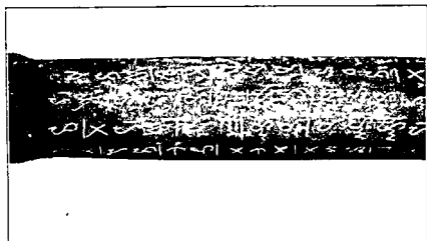


FIG. 7. MANGYAN WRITING, SHOWING HINDU CHARACTERS

Courtesy of Bureau of Education

than social or political. The words in the Malayan languages derived from the Chinese are, for the most part, of an economic or commercial character.

The art of mining metals among the Malays has been variously influenced by Chinese and Indian cultures.

Iron, lead, gold, and silver appear to have been derived by the natives chiefly from the Chinese, while brass, bronze, copper, and tin came mainly from Indian sources.¹ The art of mining these metals, and the implements and tools used in working them, among the Malays, appear to have had the same respective origins. Metal

¹ H. Otley Beyer, "The Philippines before Magellan," in *Asia Magazine*, November, 1921.

armor and some of the older types of weapons are probably Indian, while certain later weapons and the manufacture and use of firearms are Chinese

In clothing [Fig 8] and ornament, an equal diversity of origin is apparent. The characteristic sarong, turban, bronze bells, anklets and armlets, and a variety of smaller ornaments appear to be Indian. The skin tight trousers of the Sulu Moros are suggestive

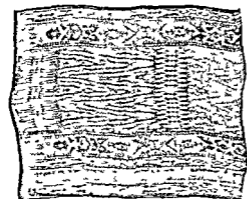


FIG 8 ABACA SKIRT CLOTH

An example of ancient Malayan art (Courtesy of Dr Pardo de Tavera)

of Indian puttees. On the other hand, the jacket with sleeves, the loose trousers worn by Moro women, glass beads, and many types of hats, rain-coats, footgear, etc., are almost certainly Chinese. So also is the restriction of yellow garb to royal or aristocratic usage and the prevalence of blue among the commonalty. Silks, porcelain, and glazed pottery of all sorts came from China, cotton and the ramie fiber

were introduced from India, though in the more recent centuries China also acquired cotton and exported cotton cloths. . .
As a final judgment it may be said that, while Indian culture penetrated to the very heart of Malay mental and social life, the Chinese merely scratched the surface. In recent times, however, the Celestials have been penetrating more thoroughly into the island life, and while the Indian influence has long been waning, the Chinese has been slowly but ever surely increasing its hold.

These, then, are the important cultural influences which deeply affected our people long before European civilization came in contact with the Filipinos.

II. THE INDONESIANS

The Indonesians, who, like the Malays, were also migrating peoples, came to the Philippines even earlier than the Malays. They present definite marks of affinity with certain races of southern Asia. This division represents the tallest type in the Philippines, high stature being one of its characteristics. Indonesians range from 5 feet 4 inches to 6 feet 2 inches tall; with an average height of about 5 feet 7 inches. Two types have been distinguished: the first is characterized by a light skin, slender body, sharp thin face, high aquiline nose with elongated nostrils, thin lips, high broad forehead, and deep-set eyes; the second is characterized by a relatively dark skin, thickset jaw, large rectangular face, large thick nose with round flaring nostrils, large mouth with rather thick lips, and large round eyes.

In northern Luzon the Indonesian groups and their ramifications, including the Ibanags, Gaddangs, Kalingas, and Apayaos, are confined almost exclusively to the Cagayan valley. The Ilongots and Tinguianes also show Indonesian influence.

In the Visayan (or Bisaya) Islands the following groups are regarded as Indonesians: pagan Visayans, pagans of southern Mindoro, and Tagbanuas of Palawan.

In eastern and central Mindanao the Indonesian element may be recognized among the Bukidnon, Mandaya, Manobo, Isamal, Ata, Bagobo, Kalamian, Tagakaólo, Bila-án, and Tirurai.

III. THE PYGMIES

In all literature relating to the Philippines preceding the Census of 1918 the primitive dwarf races were lumped together under the name *Negritos*, and have been considered as belonging to a single race. Recent study, however, has given rise to a new view. The Pygmies are now classified into three quite distinct aboriginal races: the first is the true Negrito

or dwarf man of undoubted negro affinities, the second is a straight haired dwarf type of Mongoloid, called the Proto Malay and the third represents a hairy dwarf man, intermediate between the aboriginal Australian and the Ainu of northern Japan called Australoid Ainu. For these Pygmies there is little hope in the future. They represent ancient types of men that the course of evolution has passed by. According to the Census of 1918 they will last just so long as the forest continues to exist and no longer. Even now they are very few in number and the time will come when they will take their place with the other extinct races of men.

IV CHARACTER OF THE PEOPLE

The character of the people What future awaits the Indonesians and Malays who constitute the Filipino people, from the political and historical points of view? That it is not a hopeless future is the testimony of men who have studied the development of the Filipino people.

In the first place, it should be remembered that the Filipinos, unlike some other peoples, are not disappearing as a race. Rizal has written as follows:

The Philippine races, like all the Malays, do not succumb before the foreigner, like the Australians, the Polynesians and the Indians of the New World¹. In spite of the numerous wars the Filipinos have had to carry on, in spite of the epidemics that have periodically visited them, their number has trebled, as has that of the Malays of Java and the Moluccas. The Filipino embraces civilization and lives and thrives in every clime in contact with every people.

In an article on the Filipino, an American educator² states that though he is small and slight, few excel him in agility, suppleness, and dexterity, the Filipino's powers of

¹ José Rizal *The Philippines a Century Hence*

² See David P. Barrows, "A Friendly Estimate of the Filipinos" in *Isis Magazine* November 1921

endurance are regarded as extraordinary, and he has great aptitude for tools and machinery. Contrary to superficial observations of other writers, this educator regards the Filipino as a willing worker; he starts to work earlier than the late-rising foreigner, and is, therefore, ready to rest before noon.

He is a natural rover.¹ The sea has always invited him. You will find him at the wheel of merchant ships up and down the coast of

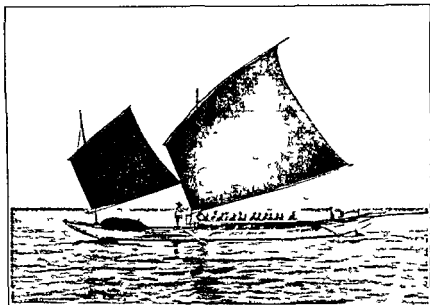


FIG 9 MALAYAN BOAT

Courtesy of Dr Pardo de Tavera

Asia. He enlists readily for labor on the plantations of Hawaii. He never misses an opportunity to come to America, and every distant prospect charms and allures him.

Among the moral qualities of the Filipino, his courage is rated very high. "He is a natural soldier,"¹ and the battalions of Filipino scouts "are the equal of any infantry that Asia can produce."¹ Fortitude, too, is another of his moral qualities.

¹ David P. Barrows "A Friendly Estimate of the Filipinos," in *Asia Magazine*, November, 1921

In the face of calamities and physical sufferings the Filipino makes no outcry, utters no reproach upon Providence, but instantly sets to work to repair his fortunes and rebuild his home¹ He meets death with self control

Ambition to secure an education is another of the salient characteristics of the Filipino, and intellectually he

is far from despicable¹ He has quick perceptions retentive memory aptitude and extraordinary docility He is, in fact, one of the most teachable of persons and it is astonishing how quickly he can possess himself of the more obvious aspects of a problem

That the Filipino has the mental adaptability which characterizes all progressive peoples is evident from the success he has had in absorbing and assimilating the useful elements of foreign cultures with which he has come in contact Rizal has shown that the "brutalization of the Malayan Filipino has been demonstrated to be impossible"² In spite of poor instruction which miserably wastes years and years in the colleges so that the Filipinos issue "therefrom tired, weary and disgusted with books, in spite of the censorship, which tries to close every avenue to progress,"² and in spite of those influences

that inculcate hatred toward not only all scientific knowledge but even toward the Spanish language itself, in spite of this whole elaborate system perfected and tenaciously operated by those who wish to keep the Islands in holy ignorance there exist writers, freethinkers historians, philosophers, chemists, physicians artists and jurists² Enlightenment is spreading and the persecution it suffers quickens it No the divine flame of thought is inextinguishable in the Filipino people and somehow or other it will shine forth and compel recognition It is impossible to brutalize the inhabitants of the Philippines'

¹ David P Barrows A Friendly Estimate of the Filipinos in *Asia Magazine* November 1911

² José Rizal *The Philippines a Century Hence*

Dr T H Pardo de Tavera points to the rapid development of the Spanish and English languages subsequent to the withdrawal of Spanish sovereignty from the Philippines as an evidence of the mental capacity and adaptability of the Filipino. Referring to the youths who have learned the English language in such a short time, Dr Pardo de Tavera says

If those youths did not have the adequate mental capacity they would not be able to appreciate even the meaning of its vocabulary, not to say the beauty of English literature ¹ He who uses a language in the manner in which the youths in our schools express in it their sentimental or rational ideas — as can be easily proved, — give evidence of knowing the means of making manifest what he feels and thinks and at the same time proof of what he is capable of feeling and thinking

Justice George A Malcolm, after examining all the available studies of the Filipino people and their cultural development comes to the following conclusion

In fine to make a broad and pertinent comparison, if the condition of the natives of the Philippines and their system of government on the date Magellan landed in the islands be contrasted with life among the inhabitants of Mexico, Cuba, and the South American countries now sovereign on the date entered by Spain, little difference in degree of civilization is seen ² Or more generally stated there is nothing to indicate that the people of the Philippines had such innate characteristics as implied inferior capacity, but on the contrary it is clear that they had the same relative civilization as has been shown in the early history of all progressive races. There is nothing to indicate that they cannot attain to an advanced standard

¹ Dr T H Pardo de Tavera *The New Filipino Mentality* a lecture delivered before the Philippine Academy November 13 1915

² George A Malcolm *The Government of the Philippine Islands* pp 44 247
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QUESTIONS AND TOPICS FOR FURTHER STUDY

- 1 Investigate the history of the Malay race (References Nos 1, 2 3 5)
- 2 What peoples inhabit the Philippines? Locate them on the map
- 3 What has been the Hindu influence on the Malay race? (References Nos 1 5 8)
- 4 How did the Chinese influence the Malays?
- 5 Write a short essay on the characteristics of the Malays (Reference No 8)
- 6 Why is the Filipino said to possess an adventurous spirit? (Reference No 8)
- 7 Show the relation between the ability of a people to adapt itself to new conditions and its progress
- 8 What significance can you attach to the Filipino victories in the Far Eastern Olympic games? (Reference No 6)
- 9 What significance is there in the considerable number of Filipino government and private students who obtain academic honors in American and European universities?
- 10 Make a list of Filipinos who attained eminence in art music literature religion politics war, science and business (Reference No 4)
- 11 What part did Christianity play in the elevation of woman's position in the Philippines?

PART I. PERIOD OF DISCOVERY
AND SETTLEMENT, 1521-1600

CHAPTER III

EVENTS AND MOVEMENTS LEADING TO
FILIPINO-SPANISH RELATIONS

I. DISCOVERY

The Renaissance. What general historical movements in Europe finally led to the contact of the Filipinos with European

Land which for centuries had been a common meeting ground for traders from Asia, Africa, and Europe. They acquired a taste for Eastern luxuries and on their return home spread the demand for Oriental goods in all sections of western Europe. Because of this demand, a flourishing trade between western Europe and the Far East was developed. From the Orient came spices, fruits, jewels, silks, perfumes, porcelains, precious stones, tapestries and rugs which were exchanged for iron, gold, silver and woolen cloth.

The Italians made great profits from this trade. They founded banks which lent money to kings engaged in wars. Cities grew up because of this thriving business. The other European merchants — English, French, Spanish, Portuguese and Dutch — looked with envy upon the prosperity of their Italian rivals and thus the ambition of these nations to take part in the Oriental trade was aroused. Indeed late in the fifteenth century English merchants began business for themselves in the eastern Mediterranean. By that time all western Europe was deeply stirred over Oriental and Indian trade.

Trade routes to the East. Let us consider the means of communication which gave life to this flourishing trade with the Orient. There were three important trade routes connecting Europe with the East (Fig 10). The southernmost route was entirely by sea — from Malacca (the distributing center for goods of China, Japan, and the East Indies) westward across the Indian Ocean to southern India, from there to the coast of Arabia near the entrance to the Red Sea, up the Red Sea and across a short strip of land to Cairo, where European traders congregated. The second route also started at Malacca, skirting the coast, it passed through the important ports of India and Persia, then through the Persian Gulf and up the Euphrates or the Tigris River to Bagdad, where it divided into several routes, each of which led to some port of the Mediterranean Sea. The third route was entirely by

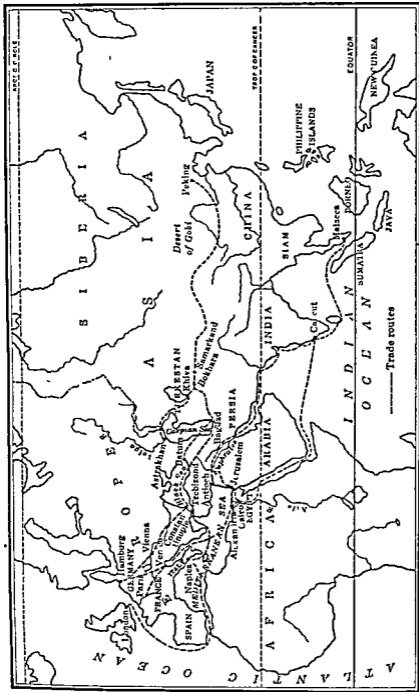


FIG 10 TRADE ROUTS TO THE EAST

land, across the center of Asia, from the eastern coasts of Siberia and China to the Caspian and Black seas

Necessity for new trade routes. The expulsion of the Christian crusaders from the Holy Land by the Mohammedans did not at first result in the cutting off of the trade routes, for the Mohammedans were willing to let goods pass through upon payment of fees. But the capture of Constantinople in 1453 by the Ottoman Turks meant the final closing of the two northerly trade routes

Only the southern route was then available. But by a treaty between Venice and the sultan of Egypt a monopoly of this was given to the former, and as all goods passing through it went to Venetian traders only, it became a vital necessity for the other European nations to find new trade routes to the East, hence the movements resulting in the voyages of discovery

The great geographical discoveries. The first of the geographical discoveries came as the result of this continued search for a way to the East (Fig 11). Christopher Columbus was convinced that by sailing westward he would find the shortest route to India, and in 1492 he set sail under the auspices of Spain. Instead of reaching India, however, he discovered America, although even to the end of his days he thought he had reached the goal of European commercial ambition

The second great geographical discovery — a route to India by way of the Cape of Good Hope — was made by the Portuguese in 1498. Vasco da Gama, after rounding the Cape, followed the eastern coast of Africa until he reached the Arab trading stations, then, crossing the sea, he arrived at Calcut on the Malabar coast of India. This discovery was of the greatest significance to European trade. It destroyed the monopoly of Venice over the Oriental trade and made Portugal the most important trading and colonizing power of the time. As Portugal served notice to the world that only her vessels

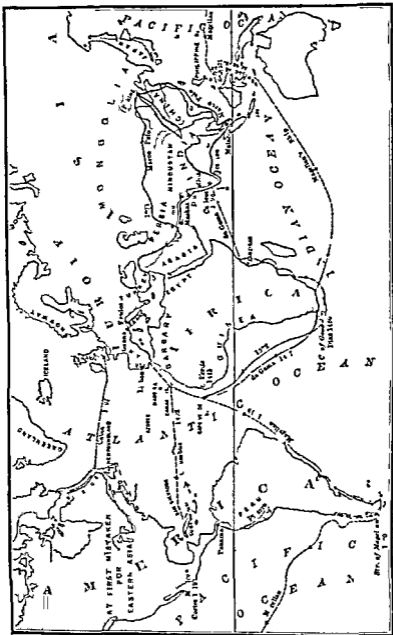


FIG II THE VOYAGES OF DISCOVERY

could use this newly found trade route, the search for other routes to the East continued.

The third great geographical discovery was made by Ferdinand Magellan, whose fleet of five ships sailed on September 20, 1519, from San Lucar, Spain, and entered the Strait of Magellan on October 21, 1520. He sailed on the Pacific Ocean from November 28, 1520, until he stopped at the Ladrone Islands on March 7, 1521. He finally sighted the island of Samar on March 16, according to Pigafetta's computation. This event marks the discovery of the Philippines by the Spaniards. To the world at large the voyage of Magellan is significant because the return, on September 16, 1522, of the *Victoria* (under the command of Juan Sebastian Elcano) to San Lucar, by way of the Indian Ocean and the Cape of Good Hope, marks the first circumnavigation of the earth by sailing westward. Historians generally have conceded to Elcano the honor and distinction of being the first man to sail round the world, but José Algué, director of the Weather Bureau, taking into account his early easterly travels in connection with his last epoch making voyage, has proved that Magellan was the first to circumnavigate the earth.¹

Magellan at Homonhon.² The day following March 16, 1521, Magellan landed on an uninhabited island, Homonhon, or Jomonjol, to get water and to rest. He had two tents set up on the shores for the sick, and had a sow killed for them. On this island the Spaniards first saw Filipinos. This was on March 18, when they saw a boat coming toward them with nine men in it. When these men reached the shore, their

¹ See José Algué, "Navigation and Meteorology since the Voyage of Magellan," in *Fourth Centenary of the Discovery of the Philippines by Magellan* Bureau of Printing, Manila, 1921.

² See Blair and Robertson, *The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898*, Vols. XXXIII and XXXIV. The Arthur H. Clark Company, Publishers. These volumes were also published separately with a full index under the editorship of James Alexander Robertson, with the title, *Magellan's Voyage around the World, by Antonio Pigafetta*. The Arthur H. Clark Company, Publishers, 1906.

chief went immediately to Magellan, giving signs of joy Five of the most ornately adorned remained, while the rest went to get others who were fishing

The captain general seeing that they were reasonable men, ordered food to be set before them, and gave them red caps mirrors, combs, bells ivory, bocasine and other things¹ When they saw the captain's courtesy, they presented fish a jar of palm wine, which they call *uraca* [*i e*, arrack] figs more than one palmo long [*i e*, bananas] and others which were smaller and more delicate, and two cocoanuts

These Filipinos, who came from the island of Suluan, he came quite intimate with the Spaniards "When they were about to retire they took their leave very gracefully and neatly, saying that they would return according to their promise" They did return on March 22, and brought "cocoanuts sweet oranges, a jar of palm wine, and a cock, in order to show us that there were fowls in that district"²

Magellan at Limasawa Because not enough food could be brought to them in Homonhon, the Spaniards sailed to the little island of Limasawa, south of Leyte, on Holy Monday, March 25 There was a village on this island, and here the Spaniards met two Filipino chiefs Rajah Kolambu and Rajah Siaui of Butuan and Cagayan respectively, who came to Limasawa to hunt On the morning of Holy Thursday, March 28, the Spaniards saw a small boat (*boloto* Pigafetta calls it) with eight men in it At first these men were distrustful, but the Spaniards gave them presents of red caps and other things, and they left to advise their chief "About two hours later we saw two *balanghais* coming"³ They are large boats and are so called [by those people] They were full of men and their king was in the larger of them, being seated under an awning

¹ Blair and Robertson *The Philippine Islands 1493-1898* Vol XXXIII p 103 The Arthur H Clark Company Publishers

² *Ibid* Vol XXXIII pp 107 109

³ *Ibid* Vol XXXIII p 115

of mats" Magellan showed "great honor to the men who entered the ship"¹ sent by the Filipino chief, and gave them presents. The following day, Good Friday, Magellan sent his interpreter

ashore in a small boat to ask the king if he had any food to have it carried to the ships, and to say that they would be well satisfied with us for he [and his men] had come to the island as friends and not as enemies.¹ The king came with six or eight men in the same boat and entered the ship. He embraced the captain general to whom he gave three porcelain jars covered with leaves and full of raw rice, two very large *orade* (a large kind of fish), and other things. The captain general gave the king a garment of red and yellow cloth made in the Turkish fashion, and a fine red cap, and to the others (the king's men), some knives and to others mirrors. Then the captain-general had a collation spread for them, and had the king told through the slave that he desired to be *casí casí* with him, that is to say, brother. The king replied that he also wished to enter the same relations with the captain general.

Upon the Filipino chief's return to shore, Pigafetta and another Spaniard accompanied him. There they had a banquet, and Pigafetta's description² of the drinking ceremony during the banquet, and of the porcelain platters and dishes and jars used, gives us a clearer idea of the culture of the early Filipinos. On the last day of March, which was Easter Sunday, the whole Spanish force went ashore to celebrate mass. After the mass, "the captain general arranged a fencing tournament, at which the kings were greatly pleased"³. Then Magellan had a cross set up¹.

Magellan at Cebu. The insufficient supply of food in Limasawa induced Magellan to set sail for Cebu, which he reached, with the aid of Filipino guides, on April 7.¹ On approaching the island, the Spaniards fired all their artillery. Magellan

¹ Blair and Robertson, *The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898*, Vol XXXIII, pp 115-117. The Arthur H. Clark Company, Publishers.

² See *ibid* Vol XXXIII, pp 119-121.

³ *Ibid* Vol XXXIII, p 125

sent a foster son of his as ambassador to the king of Zubo with the interpreter¹ When they reached the city, they found a vast crowd of people together with the king all of whom had been frightened by the mortars The interpreter told them that that was our custom when entering into such places, as a sign of peace and friendship, and that we had discharged all our mortars to honor the king of the village

The chief of Cebu, Rajah Humabon, asked through the interpreter what the Spaniards wanted, and, when told that they had come solely to visit and to buy food, said that they were welcome, "but that it was their custom for all ships that entered their ports to pay tribute, and that it was but four days since a junk from Ciama [*i. e.*, Siam] laden with gold and slaves had paid him tribute"¹ Magellan refused, whereupon the chief said "that he would deliberate with his men, and would answer the captain on the following day"¹ Then he had "refreshments of many dishes, all made from meat and contained in porcelain platters, besides many jars of wine brought in"¹

On the following day, after assurance by the interpreter that Magellan did not wish him to pay any tribute, but "wished only to trade with him and with no others, the king said that he was satisfied, and that if the captain wished to become his friend, he would send him a drop of blood from his right arm, and he himself would do the same [to him] as a sign of the most sincere friendship"¹ There was a mutual exchange of presents and the day following peace was formally negotiated between the Spaniards and the chiefs of Cebu The peace pact paved the way for the wholesale conversion of the people of Cebu, beginning with Rajah Humabon and his wife so that "before that week had gone, all the persons of that island, and some from the other islands, were baptized,"² eight hundred in all A large cross was set up in

¹ Blair and Robertson *The Philippine Islands 1493-1898* Vol XXXIII pp 137-141 The Arthur H Clark Company Publishers

² *Ibid* Vol XXXIII p 161

the middle of the square, where it stands to this day Magellan, who knew "that the queen was very much pleased with the child Jesus, gave it to her, telling her to keep it in place of her idols, for it was in memory of the son of God"¹ To this day that image of Jesus is venerated in the city of Cebu

The first armed resistance against the Spaniards In connection with his account of the rapid conversion of the people of Cebu, Pigafetta adds that the Spaniards "burned one hamlet which was located in a neighboring island, because it refused to obey the king or us"¹ That was in Mactan Island On the same island lived a Filipino chief, Lapulapu by name, an enemy of Zula, a chief who was friendly with the Spaniards Lapulapu's refusal to submit to the Spanish yoke provoked Magellan, and induced him to lead an expedition in person This expedition is significant in history to Filipinos as it was the very first organized armed resistance against the Spanish invasion, it is significant to the world at large, as it brought the death of a truly remarkable character We are fortunate in having this important event vividly described by Pigafetta

Magellan's Mactan expedition and his death Pigafetta writes

On Friday, April twenty six, Zula, a chief of the island of Matan sent one of his sons to present two goats to the captain general, and to say that he would send him all that he had promised, but that he had not been able to send it to him because of the other chief, Cilapulapu, who refused to obey the king of Spain² He requested the captain to send him only one boatload of men on the next night, so that they might help him and fight against the other chief The captain general decided to go thither with three boatloads We begged him repeatedly not to go, but he, like a good shepherd, refused to abandon his flock

¹ Blair and Robertson *The Philippine Islands 1493-1898* Vol. XXIII pp 161 163 The Arthur H Clark Company, Publishers

² *Ibid* Vol. XXIII, pp 175 183

At midnight, sixty men of us set out armed with corselets and helmets, together with the Christian king, the prince, some of the chief men, and twenty or thirty *balanguais*. We reached Matan three hours before dawn. The captain did not wish to fight then, but sent a message to the natives by the Moro to the effect that if they would obey the king of Spain, recognize the Christian king as their sovereign and pay us our tribute, he would be their friend, but that if they wished otherwise, they should wait to see how our lances wounded. They replied that if we had lances they had lances of bamboo and stakes hardened with fire. [They asked us] not to proceed to attack them at once, but to wait until morning, so that they might have more men. They said that in order to induce us to go in search of them, for they had dug certain pitholes between the houses in order that we might fall into them.

When morning came forty nine of us leaped into the water up to our thighs, and walked through water for more than two cross-bow flights before we could reach the shore. The boats could not approach nearer because of certain rocks in the water. The other eleven men remained behind to guard the boats. When we reached land, those men had formed in three divisions to the number of more than one thousand five hundred persons. When they saw us they charged down upon us with exceeding loud cries, two divisions on our flanks and the other on our front. When the captain saw that, he formed us into two divisions, and thus did we begin to fight.

The musketeers and crossbowmen shot from a distance for about a half hour, but uselessly, for the shots only passed through the shields which were made of thin wood and the arms [of the bearers]. The captain cried to them, "Cease firing! cease firing!" but his order was not at all heeded. When the natives saw that we were shooting our muskets to no purpose, crying out they determined to stand firm, but they redoubled their shouts. When our muskets were discharged, the natives would never stand still, but leaped hither and thither, covering themselves with their shields. They shot so many arrows at us and hurled so many bamboo spears (some of them tipped with iron) at the captain general, besides pointed stakes hardened with fire, stones and mud that we could scarcely defend ourselves. Seeing that, the captain general sent

some men to burn their houses in order to terrify them. When they saw their houses burning, they were roused to greater fury. Two of our men were killed near the houses, while we burned twenty or thirty houses. So many of them charged down upon us that they shot the captain through the right leg with a poisoned arrow.

On that account, he ordered us to retire slowly, but the men took to flight, except six or eight of us who remained with the captain. The natives shot only at our legs, for the latter were bare, and so many were the spears and stones that they hurled at us, that we could offer no resistance. The mortars in the boats could not aid us as they were too far away. So we continued to retire for more than a good crossbow flight from the shore always fighting up to our knees in the water. The natives continued to pursue us, and picking up the same spear four or six times, hurled it at us again and again. Recognizing the captain, so many turned upon him that they knocked his helmet off his head twice, but he always stood firmly like a good knight, together with some others.

Thus did we fight for more than one hour, refusing to retire farther. An Indian hurled a bamboo spear into the captain's face, but the latter immediately killed him with his lance, which he left in the Indian's body. Then, trying to lay hand on sword, he could draw it out but half-way, because he had been wounded in the arm with a bamboo spear. When the natives saw that, they all hurled themselves upon him. One of them wounded him on the left leg with a large cutlass, which resembles a scimitar, only being larger. That caused the captain to fall face downward, when immediately they rushed upon him with iron and bamboo spears and with their cutlasses, until they killed our murmur, our light, our comfort, and our true guide. When they wounded him, he turned back many times to see whether we were all in the boats. Thereupon, beholding him dead, we, wounded, retreated, as best we could, to the boats, which were already pulling off.

The Christian king would have aided us, but the captain charged him before we landed, not to leave his *balanghai*, but to stay to see how we fought. When the king learned that the captain was dead, he wept. Had it not been for that unfortunate captain, not a single one of us would have been saved in the boats, for while he was fighting the others retired to the boats.

I hope through [the efforts of] your most illustrious Lordship that the fame of so noble a captain will not become effaced in our times. Among the other virtues which he possessed, he was more constant than ever any one else in the greatest of adversity. He endured hunger better than all the others, and more accurately than any man in the world did he understand sea charts and navigation. And that this was the truth was seen openly, for no other had had so much natural talent nor the boldness to learn how to circumnavigate the world, as he had almost done.

That battle was fought on Saturday, April twenty seven, 1521. The captain desired to fight on Saturday, because it was the day especially holy to him. Eight of our men were killed with him in that battle, and four Indians, who had become Christians and who had come afterward to aid us, were killed by the mortars of the boats. Of the enemy, only fifteen were killed, while many of us were wounded.

In the afternoon the Christian king sent a message with our consent to the people of Matan, to the effect that if they would give us the captain and the other men who had been killed, we would give them as much merchandise as they wished. They answered that they would not give up such a man, as we imagined [they would do], and that they would not give him for all the riches in the world, but that they intended to keep him as a memorial.

Spread of opposition to Spain As an indication of the deep rooted opposition to Spanish control, and a fitting sequel to the tragic death of Magellan, another story about the "Christian King," as Pigafetta calls Rajah Humabon, should be told. On the first of May he "sent word to the commanders that the jewels which he had promised to send to the king of Spain were ready, and that he begged them and their other companions to come to dine with him that morning, when he would give them the jewels." Twenty four men went ashore," including Duarte Barboza and Juan Serrano, who were elected commanders after Magellan's death. During the banquet all

¹ Blair and Robertson *The Philippine Islands 1493-1898* Vol. VXXIII p. 185. The Arthur H. Clark Company Publishers

the Spaniards except Juan Serrano were killed, and he, bound and wounded, was left to his own fate although he "weeping asked us not to set sail so quickly."¹

After visiting northwestern Mindanao, Cagayan Sulu, and Palawan, the expedition left Philippine waters, passing through the Sulu Archipelago and by southwestern Mindanao on its way to the Molucca Islands.

Other Spanish expeditions to the Philippines. To take advantage of the discoveries made by Magellan, Spain sent another expedition under the command of Juan García Jofre de Loafsa, with whom went also Sebastian Elcano and Andrés de Urdaneta. Sailing from La Coruña, Spain, on July 24, 1525, the Spaniards reached Mindanao. Here they remained for ten days, but found neither sufficient food nor a friendly attitude on the part of the people, who on several occasions tried to capture the ships. The expedition set sail for Cebu, but was driven by the winds to the Moluccas, arriving at Tidore on December 31, 1526. Pressed by the Portuguese on one hand and by the natives on the other, the survivors of this expedition resolved to fortify themselves here and await aid from Spain.

This longed-for assistance came. Upon order from the king of Spain, Hernán Cortés, the conqueror of Mexico, dispatched another expedition on October 31, 1527, under the command of Alvaro de Saavedra, with instructions to look for Loafsa and the Spanish survivors in Cebu. The expedition passed through the Carolines, took possession for Spain of the islands of Ulic and Yap,² and after taking provisions in Mindanao,

¹ Blair and Robertson, *The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898*, Vol. XXXIII, p. 187. The Arthur H. Clark Company, Publishers.

² Yap is a little Pacific island which has recently played an important rôle in international relationships. As a result of the World War it was given under mandate to Japan. The United States protested on account of the strategic importance of this little island for cable and radio communication across the Pacific. The dispute was settled by the treaty of February 11, 1922, between Japan and the United States, one of the important results of the Conference on the Limitation of Armament held in Washington, D. C., from November 12, 1921, to February 6, 1922.

reached Tidore. Two efforts were made to make the return trip to Spain, but in vain. The survivors surrendered to the Portuguese, under whose protection they were permitted to leave Tidore in 1534. After touching Malacca, Ceylon, and other places, they reached Lisbon in 1536.¹

Undaunted by the disasters and losses suffered by previous expeditions, the king of Spain sent Ruy López Villalobos from the port of Navidad, Mexico, on November 1, 1542, with instructions to go to the Western Islands (Islas del Poniente), of which the Philippines formed a part, there to settle, colonize, and trade, fortifying the seacoasts and establishing the Catholic religion among the people. The people of Sarangani, an island south of Mindanao to which the Spaniards were driven by the winds, were unfriendly; in the fight which ensued the Filipinos were ousted from a hill which they had fortified, and the Spaniards seized musk, amber, oil, and gold dust. Here they stayed long enough to plant maize, which yielded an abundant crop. Because of lack of food, the hostility of the inhabitants, and the importunities of the Portuguese, who claimed that Mindanao was not included in the Western Islands, Villalobos set sail once again. This time he was driven by storms to Jilolo, one of the principal islands of the Moluccas, where he was forced to surrender to the Portuguese. After his death, in Amboina, the survivors sailed for Spain, which they reached in 1549. Villalobos is to be remembered for having given the name *Las Filipinas* to our country, in honor of Philip II of Spain, then the Prince of Asturias.

II. SETTLEMENT

Legazpi and the first permanent Spanish settlements. Nearly twenty years elapsed before another attempt to settle the Philippines was made. On November 21, 1564, an expedition under the command of Miguel Lopez de Legazpi, with the

¹ See José Montero y Vidal, *Historia General de Filipinas*, Vol I, chap. ii. 1887

aid of Andres de Urdaneta who had become an Augustinian friar was sent from Navidad Mexico Legazpi following sealed orders opened in mid ocean sailed to the Philippines arriving near Cebu in February 1565 Here he remained at anchor seven or eight days and sent two boats to reconnoiter One of them returned minus a gentleman of my company called Francesco Gomez who was killed by some Filipinos after he had disembarked to make blood friendship with them ¹

From here Legazpi sailed on and reached Tandaya (or Samar) Island anchoring at the town of Cangiungo where the Filipinos gave the newcomers food and drink The following day the inhabitants of the same village showed a hostile attitude and made signs that we should not disembark pulled grass struck trees with their cutlasses and threateningly mocked us ¹ Sailing further the expedition reached the island of Abbuyo (or Leyte) and anchored in front of the large town of Cabalian but found the people hostile However a chief named Canutuan who came to the Spanish fleet was detained from him much information about the country was obtained and it was he who guided Legazpi to Limasawa Then the fleet stopped at Camiguin Island where also the people were hostile On its way to Mindanao the fleet was driven by contrary winds to Bohol where repairs were made and friendship was established with Sicutuna and Cigala two Filipino chiefs From Bohol reconnoitering parties were sent to different islands They were told that the

island of Cebu was densely populated containing many large villages and among them were many people inhabiting the coast and inland many cultivated districts ² I [Legazpi] decided to take the fleet to that island — a plan I carried out with the intention of requesting peace and friendship from the natives and of buying provisions from them at a reasonable cost

¹ Blair and Robertson *The Philippine Islands 1493-1898* Vol II pp 201
² Ibid Vol II p 211

Legazpi was ready to make war, if necessary upon the people of Cebu on account of their killing the men of Magellan's party in 1521

Legazpi at Cebu Legazpi reached Cebu (Fig 12) on April 27, 1565 He sent a boat with Father Andres de Urdaneta to request the people to receive the Spaniards peaceably But



FIG 12 THE OLDEST STREET IN CEBU THE FIRST SPANISH SETTLEMENT

the Filipinos would not accept peace at the price of becoming vassals Legazpi's own account best describes the attitude of the people toward the invaders

But¹ at length — seeing that all our good intentions were of no avail and that all the natives had put on their wooden corselets and rope armor and had armed themselves with their lances shields, small cutlasses, and arrows, and that many plumes and varicolored headdresses were waving, and that help of men had come in *praus*

¹ Blair and Robertson *The Philippine Islands 1493-1898* Vol II pp 212-213 The Arthur H Clark Company Publishers.

from the outside so that their number must be almost two thousand warriors and considering that now was the time for us to make a settlement and effect a colony and that the present port and location were exactly suited to our needs and that it was useless for us to wait any longer and seeing that there was no hope for peace and that they did not wish it although we had offered it — the master-of-camp said to the natives through an interpreter

Since you do not desire our friendship and will not receive us peacefully but are anxious for war wait until we have landed and look to it that you act as men and defend yourselves from us and guard your houses The Indians answered boldly Be it so Come on We await you here And thereupon they broke out into loud cries covering themselves with their shields and brandishing their lances Then they returned to the place whence they had set out hurling their lances by divisions of threes at the boat and returning again to their station going and coming as in a game of *canas*¹

In the fight which ensued Spanish artillery proved its superiority Seeing its effect the inhabitants left their village to the newcomers

Legazpi's policy of attraction It was at this juncture that Legazpi proved himself a governor of tact and vision Rather than take advantage of his superior strength in arms he pursued a policy of attraction in his dealings with the Filipinos. It was thus that he succeeded in befriending Tupas the greatest chief of Cebu with whom it

was arranged that tributes should be paid in produce since the people had no gold — not because of any necessity the King of Castilla had of it but merely as a tribute and token that they recognized him as their lord*

The agreement between the Filipino chief and the Spanish representative was a contract similar to the feudal covenant

¹ The game of *canas* is an equestrian exercise with reed spears.

* Blair and Robertson *The Philippine Islands 1493-1898* Vol II p 12 See also Vol II pp. 121-137 and Vol III pp 59-60. The Arthur H. Clark Company Publishers.

in which the vassal pledged loyalty and the lord promised protection. For example, it was stipulated that

if the said Tupas and chiefs asked the said governor for the aid of his men against any Indians hostile to them who were making or should make war upon them, the said governor was obliged to give them aid, protection, and reenforcement of men for it ¹

and, on the other hand, the Filipinos were obliged to help the governor in war, all spoils of war thus jointly undertaken to be divided equally between the Spaniards and the Filipinos ²

Land for Cebu fort granted by Filipinos On the day Tupas agreed to be a friend of Spain, presents of garments, mirrors, strings of beads, and pieces of blue glass were given to the various chiefs. Legazpi told the Filipino chiefs

of the necessity of the King's having "a strong house, wherein could be kept and guarded the articles of barter and the merchandise brought thither, and his artillery and ammunition," as well as a town site for the soldiers ³ These the natives should assign, where it best pleased them, "because he wished it to be with the consent and choice of all of them, and although he had planned the house of his majesty on the point occupied at present by the camp in order to be near the ships, he wished it to be with their universal consent." This place was granted by the natives, whereupon Legazpi proceeded to mark out land for the fort and Spanish town, assigning the limits by a line of trees

Thus was the first Spanish settlement made. The city was named Santisimo Nombre de Jesus, in honor of the carved image of Jesus found in one of the houses by one of Legazpi's men, and believed to be the one left there by Magellan.

Discovery of a new route In the year 1565 Legazpi dispatched Andres de Urdaneta with the flagship to discover a different return route to New Spain and to spread the news of

¹ Blair and Robertson *The Philippine Islands 1493-1898* Vol II pp 134-136 The Arthur H. Clark Company Publishers

² See *ibid* Vol II pp 133-136

³ *Ibid* Vol II p 136

the settlement of Cebu. In the annals of navigation this discovery of a northern return route across the Pacific is considered important.

Explorations in other islands. The next few years (those preceding the conquest and founding of Manila) were busy years indeed for Legazpi and his men. This period was characterized by many exploring expeditions and by the discovery of many islands in the central Philippines. Masbate, Burias,

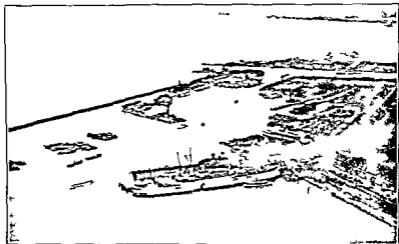


FIG 13 ENTRANCE TO THE PASIG RIVER

An ancient Filipino fort was situated here when the Spaniards arrived

Ticao, southern Luzon, and Mindoro. The search for abundant food supplies prompted these active explorations. In 1569 Panay was chosen as Legazpi's main headquarters, both on account of its more plentiful food supply and on account of its security from the Portuguese. But the people here were hostile.

Settlement at Manila — Filipino opposition. The final step in the conquest of the Philippines was taken by Legazpi in 1570, when Martin de Goiti, following Legazpi's orders, sailed to Manila. Manila was then a Moro settlement occupying both

banks of the Pasig River (Fig 13), "fortified with palm-trees and stout *arigues* [wooden posts] filled in with earth, and very many bronze culverins and other pieces of larger bore."¹

Rajah Soliman, chief of the settlement on the southern banks of the Pasig, where today stands Fort Santiago, was willing to be a friend of Spain, but not its vassal. The proud Filipino chief, however, was not able for long to retain his

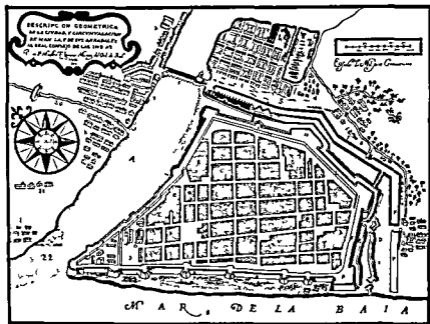


FIG 14 MAP OF MANILA IN 1671

Courtesy of Dr Pardo de Tavera

status of political equality with the equally proud Spanish explorer. One had to yield to the other's suzerainty, and, as usual, war was resorted to as final arbiter. Goiti won, but soon left Manila to report to Legazpi in Panay. It is of interest to note that in this conflict Goiti had on his side five or six hundred Visayans (or Bisaya) and one hundred and ten Spanish soldiers.

¹ Blair and Robertson, *The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898*, Vol XV, p 48. The Arthur H. Clark Company, Publishers

The following year, 1571, Legazpi moved his headquarters to Manila, where Lacandola, the chief of Tondo, and Soliman, his nephew, received him with friendship. On May 19 he took formal possession of the settlement, and on June 24 formally founded the city of Manila. He reconstructed the fort, which had been burned the year before, erected a palace for himself, a convent for the Augustinian friars, a church, and one hundred and fifty houses. After organizing the *ayuntamiento*, or municipal government, he made Manila the capital of the Philippines.

The Filipino chiefs of Manila looked with bitter regret at the loss of their power and, encouraged by the aid of neighboring settlements, especially Macabebe and Hagonoy, once more attempted to regain their forts and oust the Spaniards. But the attempt was a failure. Superiority of Spanish war equipment turned the tide against the Filipinos. Rajah Soliman himself was killed.

Thus was Spanish sovereignty established in the Philippines. The fall of Manila marked the end of independent Filipino existence and the beginning of permanent Spanish government.

Conquest of Luzon — work of Salcedo The rest of Luzon was conquered with comparative ease. Goiti soon "pacified"¹ central Luzon from Manila Bay to the Gulf of Lingayen. Juan de Salcedo, the talented grandson of Legazpi, only twenty-two years of age, led an expedition to what is now the province of Rizal. He captured Cainta, fortified with small cannon, and Taytay, two important towns of that time. He subdued the Laguna de Bay region, and went by land to the Camarines, where he discovered gold mines. In 1572 after returning to Manila, he led an expedition for the pacification of northern Luzon subduing Zambales, Pangasinan, and the Ilocos region, and sailing as far as Polillo on the Pacific. In 1573 Salcedo

¹ According to a provision of the *Leyes de Indias* the word *pacificación* and not *conquista* was the term to be used but in truth peace already existed in the country before the arrival of the Spaniards. *Census of the Philippine Islands* 1903 Vol. I p. 313

subdued the Bicol region including Catanduanes¹ By his prudence, his fine qualities his talent, and his personal worth he captured the sympathies of the Filipinos, and they submitted to their enemies He inclined them to peace and friendship with the Spaniards He likewise saved Manila from Limahon At the age of twenty seven he died and is the only Spaniard, as far as is known, who named the Indians as heirs He gave them a large portion of his possessions, namely, his encomienda of Vigan

Significance of Legazpi's work Legazpi died on August 20, 1572 By that time almost all of what today constitutes the Philippine archipelago had been brought under Spain's sovereignty Such is the significance of Legazpi's work from the point of view of territorial expansion Legazpi succeeded in his work because he was able, from the first, to win over to his side the native Filipinos Its place in colonial history is summarized by Bourne

It established the power of Spain in the Philippines and laid the foundations of their permanent organization² In a sense it was an American enterprise The ships were built in America and for the most part equipped here It was commanded and guided by men who lived in the New World The work of Legazpi during the next seven years entitles him to a place among the greatest of colonial pioneers In fact he has no rival Starting with four ships and four hundred men accompanied by five Augustinian monks, reinforced in 1567 by two hundred soldiers, and from time to time by similar small contingents of troops and monks, by a combination of tact resourcefulness and courage he won over the natives, repelled the Portuguese and laid such foundations that the changes of the next thirty years constitute one of the most surprising revolutions in the annals of colonization

¹ Rizal's note to *Morga's Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas* says of Salcedo "Thus here called the Hernan Cortéz of the Philippines was truly the intelligent arm of Legazpi"

² Blair and Robertson *The Philippine Islands 1493-1898* Vol I pp 32-33 The Arthur H. Clark Company Publishers

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QUESTIONS AND TOPICS FOR FURTHER STUDY

- 1 What was the Renaissance?
- 2 What was Europe's attitude toward trade with the Orient?
- 3 What routes connected Europe with the Orient?
- 4 Why was there need to find new trade routes?
- 5 What geographical discoveries were made as a result of this search for new trade routes?
- 6 Describe the first meeting of Magellan and the Filipinos
- 7 Describe the first Filipino revolt and the death of Magellan
- 8 What other Spanish expeditions were sent to the Philippines after Magellan's?
- 9 Name the events leading to the founding of Cebu (Reference No 1)
- 10 Name the events leading to the founding of Manila (Reference No 3)
- 11 What is the significance of Legazpi's work? (Reference No 5)

12 Was Magellan the first to circumnavigate the world? Give reasons for your answer

13 In general, were the Filipinos hostile to the Spanish settlements? Cite specific instances of hostile attitude (References Nos 2, 3 5)

14 What were the terms of the covenant between Legazpi and the chief of Cebu?

15 Characterize the work of Juan de Salcedo

16 In your opinion why was the Spanish conquest of the Philippines so easily accomplished?

CHAPTER IV

AGRICULTURE AND LANDHOLDING

I CROPS AND METHODS OF CULTIVATION

Filipino economic plants At the time of the arrival of the Spaniards agriculture in the Philippines was in a comparatively prosperous condition¹ Of the principal staple crops of today the pre Spanish Filipinos cultivated rice (which was even then their chief article of food), sugar cane, coconuts, and hemp (from which the sinamay cloth was woven)

In general it may be said that with the exception of the hemp plant, the various trees yielding timber, gum, and resin a few palms some bamboos and the rattan, practically all the important economic plants of the Philippines have been introduced The first plants introduced were those brought by the early Malayan invaders millet, taro, yam, garlic, various kinds of bananas jack fruit indigo, batao, mango, various citrus fruits (such as the pomelo, the lime, and the orange), santol, lansone castor oil plant, condol, ampalaya, tamarind, and other ornamental and medicinal plants²

Extent and distribution of crops From the accounts of the early Spanish explorers we get our information of the extent and distribution of Philippine crops Pigafetta, who, it will be remembered, came with Magellan, says that in Cebu were found "rice,³ millet, panicum, sorgo, ginger, figs [*e*], bananas],

¹ See José Montero y Vidal *Historia General de Filipinas* Vol I p 66 1887

² The scientific names of the plants introduced may be found in J D Merrill's Flora of Manila in *The Philippine Journal of Science* Vol VII No 3 Section C

³ Blair and Robertson *The Philippine Islands 1493-1898* Vol XXXIII p 187 The Arthur H Clark Company Publishers

oranges, lemons, sugarcane, garlic, honey, cocoanuts, nancas, gourds" In Palawan, a large island, were found rice, ginger, bananas half a braza long and excellent in taste, coconuts, camotes, sugar cane, and roots resembling turnips. "We called that land the land of promise," says Pigafetta, "because we suffered great hunger before we found it" ¹

At the time of Legazpi's founding of Manila, the province in Luzon which produced the most rice was Pampanga, and along its river banks dwelt tillers of the soil "This city," writes Governor Sande from Manila, "and all this region is provided with food — namely, rice, which is the bread here — by this province; so that if the rice harvest should fail there, there would be no place where it could be obtained." ² In fact, it was the comparatively greater abundance of food supplies in Luzon which induced Legazpi to transfer the seat of government to that island. A contemporaneous report says that Luzon was

... thickly populated, and that it has a great abundance of rice, fowls, and swine, as well as great numbers of buffaloes, deer, wild boar, and goats, it also produces great quantities of cotton and colored cloths, wax, and honey, and date palms abound ³ In conclusion, it is very well supplied with all the things above mentioned, and many others which I shall not enumerate. It is the largest island which has thus far been discovered in these regions

The region round Manila Bay was described as fertile and well provisioned, and the Laguna de Bay district abounded in rice, cotton, and groves ⁴

During this same early period of settlement it was said of the Visayan (or Bisaya) Islands, with the exception of Cebu, that "rice, cotton, great numbers of swine and fowls, wax, and honey are produced there in great abundance" ⁵ Panay "was ⁵ very

¹ Blair and Robertson, *The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898*, Vol XXXIII, p 207 The Arthur H. Clark Company, Publishers

² *Ibid* Vol IV, p 80

⁴ See *ibid* Vol V, p 83

³ *Ibid* Vol III, p 172

⁵ *Ibid* Vol III, pp 169-170

populous and fertile and yielded great abundance of rice, swine, fowls, wax, and honey" Loarca describes Panay as "the most fertile and well provisioned of all the islands discovered, except the island of Luçon, for it is exceedingly fertile, it produces also a great quantity of cotton and medrinaque"¹ The river valleys of Negros were "all fertile districts, rich in foods such as rice, swine, and fowls, and abounding in medrinaque, although there is no cotton"² Cuyo Islands had much "rice which bears a reddish kernel,"³ and Catanduanes "abounds in rice and palm trees, from which wine and a great quantity of brandy are made"⁴ Leyte had two rice crops each year, and abundant fruits, vegetables, and roots of many kinds "It is inhabited by a very numerous people whose villages therefore are not far apart and there is not one of them which does not possess a large grove of palm trees and a fine, full flowing river"⁵

Were the Filipinos at the time of discovery and settlement agriculturally self sufficient? In other words, did they produce enough to feed themselves? All evidences point to an affirmative answer. In the words of Chirino, "they have not only great harvests of rice (which is their ordinary bread), but also crops of cotton, with which they clothe themselves,"⁶ and as we shall see in subsequent chapters, they had a developed industry and trade.

Economic plants introduced by Spaniards from America
One of the important economic effects of Spanish settlement in the Philippines was the introduction of many new American plants which thrived here and subsequently were commonly regarded as indigenous to this country. For a period of almost three hundred years all communication between Spain and the Philippines was by the way of Mexico and by means of galleons

¹ Blar and Robertson *The Philippine Islands 1493-1898* Vol. V p. 67 The Arthur H. Clark Company Publishers

² *Ibid* Vol. V p. 97

³ *Ibid* Vol. V p. 47

⁴ *Ibid* Vol. XII p. 281

⁵ *Ibid* Vol. V p. 73

⁶ *Ibid* Vol. XII p. 187

At an early date various Spanish officials, but, apparently, chiefly the priests, introduced here the various species of economic value, food plants, medicinal plants, fruits, etc., that were familiar to their countrymen in tropical America, most often bringing seeds, but in some cases most certainly living plants¹

Among the American plants introduced into the Philippines which have had the greatest effect on agriculture, mention may be made of the following tobacco, corn cacao, cotton, pineapple, maguey, arrowroot, peanut, indigo, cassava, papaya, *achiote*, chico, *chico mamey*, tomato, and squash. The following plants also were introduced camachili (useful for its tan bark and for its edible fruit), ipel ipel and madre de cacao (useful for hedges), lima bean, yam bean, bilimbing, ciruela, cashew nuts, and guava.²

Coffee, on the other hand, was brought in by way of Europe

cultivated portions of their land with its dikes and *pilapils* looked much as they do today

What is regarded as the greatest system of stone walled terraced rice fields (Fig 15) to be found anywhere in the world today is found among the Ifugao. These terraces often run for thousands of feet up the mountain sides, like gigantic stairways and their stone walled faces would, if placed end to end reach nearly halfway round the earth, since they total some twelve thousand miles in length. The building of these walls and terraces must have been the work of many centuries. The terraces are irrigated by an elaborate system of canals and ditches some of the former being several miles in length. A detailed study of the source and distribution of this terrace building culture indicates that it originally came to the Gulf of Lingayen and the west coast of northern Luzon from southern China and then spread up the Agno and Kayapa river valleys into the Ifugao valleys¹

II SPAIN'S AGRICULTURAL POLICY

Spaniards not interested in agriculture In general, agriculture was not the chief aim of Spanish colonization

How little attention on the whole, the conquistadores directed to agricultural colonies, considering their various services in the transplantation of domestic animals, cereals, and vegetables from the Old to the New World is very clearly shown by Peter Martyr, who condemns the expedition to Florida with the words² 'For what purpose do we need such products as are identical with those of southern Europe?' It is true that Columbus's second voyage of discovery had a settlement in view, and for that reason was provided with domestic animals, seeds, etc. It was a failure, however, owing to the mutinous spirit of the Spaniards. The

¹ See Census of the Philippine Islands 1918 Vol II pp 935-936. See also R. T. Barton *Ifugao Economics* p 400. University of California Press 1927

² Wilhelm Roscher *The Spanish Colonial System* Henry Holt and Company 1904



FIG. 15. THE RICE TERRACES IN NORTHERN LUZON, BUILT IN THE PRE-SPANISH PERIOD

regions which were best adapted to agricultural colonies, as, for example, Caracas, Guana, Buenos Ayres, were neglected by the Spaniards for centuries

It is a strange thing that the Spaniards who go to these regions (The Philippines) honestly to make a small fortune do not engage more in agriculture, in a country where there is so much virgin land and of such great fertility, where labor is extremely cheap, and where the crops are easily and profitably sold ¹

"The Spaniards cared but little for the cultivation of the lands" ²

Laws to encourage agriculture. However, the Spanish government, both by means of the Laws of the Indies, which applied to all Spanish colonies, and by royal decrees applicable to the Philippines, did try to encourage agriculture. To that effect is a law of the Indies which required the governors and alcaldes mayor to encourage the cultivation of the land, and made failure in this respect a charge in their residencia ³ Another law required the planting of fruit trees ⁴ Still another law required those who received land from the government to cultivate it within three months after they took possession, on penalty of losing the land should they fail to do so ⁵

On April 20, 1586, the Spaniards in Manila, including the religious orders, the army, and the royal service, held a general assembly and Father Alonso Sánchez, a Jesuit, was sent to the home government with a statement of their grievances and needs. The king was asked to send farmers with their families, to exempt them from taxes and military and other personal service, and to forbid their changing their occupation

¹ Manuel de Azcárraga y Palmero, *La Libertad de Comercio en las Islas Filipinas*, p. 27. Madrid 1871

² Blair and Robertson, *The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 285. The Arthur H. Clark Company, Publishers

³ See Laws of the Indies, book 1, title 11, law xxviii

⁴ See *ibid* book 11, title xxi, law 17

⁵ See *ibid* book 11 title xii law xi

It was urged that the Filipinos be taught European methods of farming by ordering them to "associate themselves with our farmers by just contracts and division"¹ It was also petitioned that encomiendas be granted on condition that they be cultivated

Accordingly we find royal instructions to the governors general of the Philippines to carry out those measures requested for the development of agriculture² In letters to the king, however, we learn that many of these measures were not carried out³

III LIVE STOCK AND POULTRY

Filipino domestic animals At the time of discovery and settlement, the Filipinos had domestic animals buffaloes (or carabaos), hogs, goats chickens, dogs, and cats Swine especially seem to have been abundant

There is an infinite number of domestic swine, not to mention numberless mountain bred hogs, which are very fat, and as good for lard as the domestic breed⁴ There are also many goats which breed rapidly, bearing two kids at a time and twice yearly, there are entire islands abounding with them As to the buffaloes, there called carabaos, there are beside the tame and domestic breed, many mountain buffaloes, which are used [as food] the same as those in Europe

Imported animals and their breeding Until the Spaniards brought them from China and New Spain, there were no horses, mares, cows, or asses in the Philippines⁵ But royal instructions were issued directing the sending of these domestic animals

In⁶ order that they may be bred there in numbers, I am writing to the viceroy of Nueva Espana to send to the said islands twelve

¹ Blair and Robertson *The Philippine Islands 1493-1898* Vol VI p 171
The Arthur H Clark Company Publishers

⁴ Ibid Vol XII p 188

² See *ibid* Vol IX pp 236-237

⁵ See *ibid* Vol XVI p 90

³ See *ibid* Vol X, pp 262 263

⁶ *Ibid* Vol VII p 156

mares, two stallions, twenty four cows, and two bulls You shall ask him for these as you pass there and shall take them with you in your vessels as you go upon your voyage, and whatever you think needful for the animals can be brought from China and Japan

These imported animals "multiplied there exceedingly,"¹ and great stock farms were established in many parts of the islands In the vicinity of Manila more than twenty four cattle farms were established

From very small beginnings they have multiplied so greatly that in some there are more than four thousand head, while all of them have more than a thousand² These cattle, on account of their number, spread and wander out of bounds, and do much damage

Even buffaloes were brought from China, which were very numerous and very handsome, says Morga, and used only for milking for their milk was thicker and more palatable than that of cows "Ewes and rams, although often brought from Nueva Espana never multiply³ Consequently there are none of these animals, for the climate and pasturage have not as yet seemed suitable for them"

All early accounts testify to the abundance of chickens The other kinds of fowl are described by Morga

There are plenty of fowls like those of Castilla and others very large, which are bred from fowls brought from China⁴ They are very palatable, and make fine capons Some of these fowls are black in feather, skin, flesh, and bones, and are pleasant to the taste Many geese are raised, as well as swans, ducks, and tame pigeons brought from China⁴

The fact that the methods of duck culture first introduced by the Chinese in pre Spanish days in Pateros and Tagig in

¹ Blair and Robertson *The Philippine Islands 1493-1898*, Vol XII, p 191
The Arthur H Clark Company Publishers

² *Ibid* Vol XIV, p 156

³ *Ibid* Vol XVI p 90

⁴ See *The Philippine Agricultural Review* Second Quarter 1924, Vol XVII
No 2

Rizal (especially the interesting method of artificial incubation of eggs) are still followed in the Philippines indicates the advanced stage early attained by the Filipinos in this occupation. To encourage the people to raise poultry and thus prevent a shortage of food arising from industrial demoralization (discussed in a subsequent chapter), the government enacted laws to increase the production of fowl and penalizing those who disobeyed¹

IV LANDHOLDING

Filipino landholding. Like all peoples who have reached the agricultural stage of economic development, the Filipinos at the time of the arrival of the Spaniards recognized private ownership of land

The lands which they inhabited were divided among the whole barangay, especially the irrigated portion, and thus each one knew his own². No one belonging to another barangay could cultivate them unless after purchase or inheritance

There were still common lands, however, which could be claimed by individuals through a procedure resembling the present homestead law

The lands on the *tungues*, or mountain ridges, are not divided, but owned in common by the barangay². Consequently, at the time of the rice harvest, any individual of any particular barangay, although he may have come from some other village, if he commences to clear any land, may sow it, and no one can compel him to abandon it

A form of land rent also existed

There are some villages (as for example, Pila de la Laguna) in which these nobles, or *maharlicas*, paid annually to the dato a hundred gantas of rice². The reason of this was that, at the time of their settlement there, another chief occupied the lands, which the

¹ See Blair and Robertson *The Philippine Islands 1493-1898*, Vol X pp 302-303 The Arthur H. Clark Company, Publishers

² *Ibid* Vol VII pp 174-175

new chief upon his arrival bought with his own gold and therefore the members of his own barangay paid him for the arable land and he divided it among those whom he saw fit to reward. But now, since the advent of the Spaniards it is not so divided.

There was also private ownership of fisheries

The chiefs in some villages had also fisheries with established limits and sections of the rivers for markets¹. At these no one could fish or trade in the markets without paying for the privilege unless he belonged to the chief's barangay or village².

Spanish land grants With the establishment of Spanish sovereignty the Laws of the Indies became operative in the Philippines. In harmony with the Spanish policy of encouraging the settlement of her extensive possessions beyond the seas these laws provided for gratuitous grants of land to those who had assisted in their discovery and conquest and to such others as left their home land to join the colony. Cultivation of a piece of land and four years residence thereon were the only prerequisites to its absolute ownership³. There was to be no injustice to the native inhabitants by these land grants for the laws prohibited the granting of lands already cultivated and in their possession and even provided for reserving other unclaimed public lands for them⁴.

In spite of legislative protection however, the question of land ownership has from this early period been the source of conflict⁵. This has been due chiefly to the fact that lands

¹ Blair and Robertson *The Philippine Islands 1493-1898* Vol VII p 172
The Arthur H Clark Company Publishers

² For landholding see Dr T H Pardo de Tavera's *History of the Philippines* in *Census of the Philippine Islands 1903* Vol I p 325

³ See Blair and Robertson *The Philippine Islands 1493-1898* Vol II p 54
The Arthur H Clark Company Publishers

⁴ Laws of the Indies book iv title xii referring to land grants is in Miguel Rodríguez Berriz's *Gita del Comprador de Terrenos Baldios y Realengos de Filipinas* Manila 1886

⁵ See Blair and Robertson *The Philippine Islands 1493-1898* Vol XVII pp 151 152 The Arthur H Clark Company Publishers

claimed by individuals and granted by the government were not first surveyed, but their areas were only roughly estimated and their boundaries described in terms of adjoining lands. Thus confusion arose. The uncertainty attending land ownership depreciated the value of real estate, and prevented its being used as security in credit transactions.

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QUESTIONS AND TOPICS FOR FURTHER STUDY

- 1 Which of the staple crops that are important today were the pre Spanish Filipinos already cultivating? (See also Reference No 1)
- 2 Give a general idea of the condition of agriculture when the Spaniards first arrived (References Nos 3 4 5 6 12)
- 3 Name some of the more important economic plants introduced by the Spaniards (See also Reference No 1)
- 4 Describe the agricultural methods of the early Filipinos (Reference No 12)
- 5 What was Spain's agricultural policy?
- 6 Describe the landholding of the pre Spanish Filipinos
- 7 Was private property in land already a recognized institution in the pre Spanish period?
- 8 Did Spain have a homestead law?
- 9 Give an account of the Spanish land laws (See References Nos 7 13 14)
- 10 Write a short composition on the rice terraces of northern Luzon (See Reference No 8)

CHAPTER V

INDUSTRIES

I SHIPBUILDING

Filipino shipbuilding In this chapter we shall discuss as industries those economic activities not essentially agricultural or commercial. One of the most important industries among the Filipinos even before the arrival of the Spaniards was shipbuilding. From time immemorial they had been a sea faring people, and an abundant supply of timber was always available.

Their ships and boats were of many kinds. For use on the rivers and inland creeks there were very large canoes, each made from one log. There were boats made from planks, built up on keels and fitted with benches. There were also vireys and barangays, which were quick light vessels lying low in the water, these were fastened together with little wooden nails. Morga gives us a description of the vireys and barangays built by Filipinos.

These are as slender at the stern as at the bow, and they can hold a number of rowers on both sides, who propel their vessels with *bucçeyes* or paddles and with *gaones* on the outside of the vessel, and they time their rowing to the accompaniment of some who sing in their language refrains by which they understand whether to hasten or retard their rowing¹. Above the rowers is a platform or gangway, built of bamboo, upon which the fighting men stand, in order not to interfere with the rowing of the oarsmen. In accordance with the capacity of the vessels is the number of men on these gangways. From that place they manage the sail, which is square

¹ Blair and Robertson *The Philippine Islands 1493-1898* Vol XVI pp 8-84 The Arthur H. Clark Company Publishers

and made of linen and hoisted on a support or yard made of two thick bamboos which serves as a mast. When the vessel is large it also has a foresail of the same form. Both yards with their tackle can be lowered upon the gangway when the weather is rough. The helmsmen are stationed in the stern to steer. It carries another bamboo framework on the gangway itself and upon this when the sun shines hot or it rains they stretch an awning made from some mats woven from palm leaves. These are very bulky and close and are called *cayanes*. Thus all the ship and its crew are covered and protected. There are also other bamboo frameworks for each side of the vessel which are as long as the vessel and securely fastened on. They skim the water without hindering the rowing and serve as a counterpoise so that the ship cannot overturn nor upset however heavy the sea or strong the wind against the sail.

It may happen that the entire hull of these vessels which have no decks may fill with water and remain between wind and water even until it is destroyed and broken up without sinking because of these counterpoises. These vessels have been used commonly through the islands since olden times.

They have other larger vessels called *caracoas lapis* and *tapaques* which are used to carry their merchandise and which are very suitable as they are roomy and draw but little water. They generally drag them ashore every night at the mouths of rivers and creeks among which they always navigate without going into the open sea or leaving the shore. All the natives can row and manage these boats. Some are so long that they can carry one hundred rowers on a side and thirty soldiers above to fight.

The boats commonly used are *barangays* and *vireys* which carry a less crew and fighting force. Now they put many of them together with iron nails instead of the wooden pegs and the joints in the planks while the helms and bows have beaks like Castilian boats.

Commenting upon this early shipbuilding Rizal thought that the Filipinos had retrograded.

The¹ Filipinos like the inhabitants of the Marianas — who are no less skilful and dexterous in navigation — far from progressing

¹ Blair and Robertson *The Philippines Islands 1493-1898* Vol. XVI p. 84
The Arthur H. Clark Company Publishers

have retrograded, since, although boats are now built in the islands, we might assert that they are all after European models. The boats that held one hundred rowers to a side and thirty soldiers have disappeared. The country that once, with primitive methods, built ships of about 2000 toneladas, today [1890] has to go to foreign ports, as Hongkong, to give the gold wrenched from the poor, in exchange for unserviceable cruisers. The rivers are blocked up, and navigation in the interior of the islands is perishing, thanks to the obstacles created by a timid and mistrusting system of government, and there scarcely remains in the memory anything but the name of all that naval architecture. It has vanished, without modern improvements having come to replace it in such proportion as during the past centuries, has occurred in adjacent countries.

Spanish shipbuilding in the Philippines. The Spaniards in the Philippines early engaged in shipbuilding on a large scale. Shipyards were established at places where laborers and materials were available. For example, during Governor Juan de Silva's term (1609-1616) the shipyards of the galleons were as follows:

The shipyards of the galleons built during Don Juan de Silva's term were thirty, forty, fifty, sixty, seventy, and eighty leguas from the city of Manila, in different places—namely, on the island of Marinduque, where the galleon "San Juan Bautista" was built, which is forty leguas from Manila, in the province of Camarines at Dalupaes were built "Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe," and the "Angel de la Guardia" [*i. e.*, "Guardian Angel"], fifty leguas from Manila, in the province of Ybalon at Bagatan were built "San Felipe" and "Santiago," eighty leguas from Manila, in Mindoro was built the galleon "San Juan Bautista," fifty leguas from Manila, in Marinduque was built the almiranta "San Marcos," forty leguas from Manila, in Masbate was built the royal flagship "Salvador," seventy leguas from Manila, in the port of Cabite, six galleys, in the city of Manila, two¹

¹ Blair and Robertson *The Philippine Islands 1493-1898*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 173-174. The Arthur H. Clark Company, Publishers.

Laborers and wages What laborers were used and what were their wages? The following quotations give the answer

Those who cut these woods and build these ships and galleys are Indian natives of the said islands¹ They are carpenters who are called *cagallanes* or *pandais*, in their language Those Indians who are no more than woodcutters and serve only as hewers and planers of wood are paid each seven or eight reals a month, and are given daily rations of one half celemin of rice Those of better trades than the latter generally earn ten to twelve reals a month Those who are masters — the ones who lay out prepare, round, and make the masts yards and topmasts are each paid three or four pesos of eight reals a month and the double rations

The native Indians who act as smiths are paid twelve reals per month and the Angley [*i e*, Sangley] Chinese smiths twenty eight reals per month and their ration of rice

These Indian ropemakers are furnished in repartimiento in neighboring villages and your Majesty pays them eight reals per month and a ration of one half celemin of rice daily A task is assigned to them, for they work from midnight and until the close of the next day

Material used The iron used in the construction of the ships was brought from China and Japan, except certain kinds of better quality, which were sent from New Spain Most of the lead also came from China and Japan The rigging was made of abaca, and the canvas for the sails was excellent, and

much better than what is shipped from Espana, because it is made from cotton¹ There are certain cloths [*lienzos*] which are called *mantas* [*i e* literally, blankets or strips of cotton cloth] from the province of Ylocos, for the natives of that province manufacture nothing else and pay your Majesty their tribute in them

Shipbuilding was developed to such an extent that, to the honor of Spain, some of the largest ships in the world at that time were built in the Philippines²

¹ Blair and Robertson *The Philippine Islands 1493-1898* Vol XVIII pp 174 178 The Arthur H Clark Company Publishers

² See *ibid* Vol XXXVII pp 250-251

Effects of shipbuilding on the Filipinos That shipbuilding caused the loss of many lives and led to industrial demoralization is the testimony of all early accounts. The reasons why so many lives were sacrificed in this industry appear in the official reports. One reason was the severe work required of laborers.

When a fleet was being prepared in Cavite there were generally one thousand four hundred of these carpenters there¹. Just now there are very few, for when the Mindanao enemies burned one galleon and two pataches in the past year one thousand six hundred and seventeen which were being built in the shipyard of Pantao sixty leguas from the city of Manila they captured more than four hundred of the workmen and killed more than two hundred others while many have died through the severe work in the building. And because they have been paid for five years nothing except a little aid many have fled from the land and so few remain that when the last ships sailed from the city and port of Manila last year, six hundred and eighteen, there were not two hundred of those Indians in Cavite.

Then there were the depredations and deaths caused by enemies, especially the Moros.

I regard the present building of ships in that country as impossible². For with the former ships and fleets and with the depredations and deaths caused by the enemy in those districts the natives are quite exhausted, for as I said above in the former year of six hundred and seventeen the Mindanao enemy captured four hundred native carpenters and killed more than two hundred others. The year before that six hundred and sixteen, in the expedition made by Don Juan de Silva to the strait of Cincapura where he died it was found from lists that more than seven hundred Indians of those taken as common seamen (of whom more than two hundred were carpenters), died on that expedition. Before that, in the year six hundred and fourteen, the said Mindanao enemy captured in

¹ Blair and Robertson *The Philippine Islands 1493-1898* Vol. XVIII pp 174 175. The Arthur H. Clark Company Publishers

² *Ibid* Vol. XVIII pp 182 183

the islands of Pintados nine hundred odd Indians, of whom but few have been ransomed. In the shipbuilding and in the hauling of wood many have died. Consequently, on account of all combined, there is a lack of natives for the above works. Therefore your Majesty must order the said Don Alonso Fajardo, governor and captain general of the said islands that in case galleons are to be built it should not be in the islands — on the one hand, on account of the short time that those woods last, and on the other because of the lack in that land of natives (occurring through the above mentioned causes and because those natives in the islands are serving in the fleets as common seamen and carpenters)

There are several reasons why shipbuilding led to industrial demoralization. The repartimiento or drafting of Filipinos for public works took them away from their accustomed occupations and caused the abandonment of many industries.

The shipbuilding carried on in these islands on your Majesty's account is the total ruin and death of these natives as all tell me.¹ For in addition to the danger caused by it in withdrawing them from the cultivation of their lands and fields — whereby the abundance of foods and fruits of the country is destroyed — many of them die from severe labor and harsh treatment. Joined to this is another evil, namely, that every Indian who takes part in the shipbuilding is aided by all the neighborhood where he lives with a certain number of pesos, on account of the small pay that is given them in behalf of your Majesty. Hence many are being harassed and worn out by these methods and a great expense is being caused to your Majesty's royal treasury.

Nominally the laborers were paid wages, but in reality they were kept in a condition of practical slavery.² One of the high officials of the Philippines in those days pointed out this evil in his report. He said that the governor should

be³ warned to endeavor to avoid, as far as possible, the injuries inflicted upon the natives in the cutting of wood and in

¹ Blair and Robertson *The Philippine Islands 1493-1898*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 130-131. The Arthur H. Clark Company, Publishers.

² See *ibid.* Vol. XVIII p. 177 n. 50. ³ *Ibid.* Vol. XVIII pp. 315-316.

personal services, for they sometimes draft them in the planting season or at harvest, so that they lose their fields as I have seen. In addition to this, many times they do not pay the Indians because there is no money in the treasury, which is continually short of funds. This often arises from the fact that they do not estimate and consider the needs of the Indians with the amount of money that is available, and consequently all the Indians complain. Finally, when the said Indians are paid it is done by the hand of the chiefs or cabezas de barangay, who generally keep the money.

That the Spaniards in charge of construction personally profited from the timber collected, at the same time committing abuses against the laborers, appears in the account of the Dominican historian Domingo Fernandez Navarrete.

The loss of so many ships caused us great sadness of heart.¹ The greatest hardship fell to the Indians, for they cannot live without ships. When one is lost it is necessary to build another, and that means the cutting of wood. Six or eight thousand Indians are assembled for that task, and go to the mountains. On them falls the vast labor of cutting and dragging the timber in. To that must be added the blows that are rained down upon them and the poor pay, and bad nourishment that they receive. At times religious are sent to protect and defend them from the infernal fury of some Spaniards. Moreover, in the timber collected for one ship there is [actually enough] for two ships. Many gain advantage at the cost of the Indians' sweat, and later others make a profit in Cavite, as I have seen.

Besides employing them in the construction of ships, the Spaniards used the Filipinos to man them. Here again suffering was the lot of these laborers. In a petition for reforms sent to the king it was suggested that an order be issued

that * the common seamen who serve in the said ships who are always Indian natives be all men of that coast, who are in

¹ Blair and Robertson *The Philippine Islands 1493-1898* Vol. XXVIII pp. 42-43. The Arthur H. Clark Company, Publishers.

² *Ibid.* Vol. XXVIII pp. 299-300.

structed how to navigate, and that they be made to wear clothes, with which to shelter themselves from the cold, for, because they do not most of them die in high latitudes, of which he [the writer] is a witness. Inasmuch as the factor [or agent] enrolls other Indians who live in the interior, and who do not know the art of sailing, and as they are a wretched people, they are embarked without clothes to protect them against the cold, so that when each new dawn comes there are three or four dead men (a matter that is breaking his heart), besides they are treated inhumanly and are not given the necessaries of life but are killed with hunger and thirst. If he were to tell in detail the evil that is done to them, it would fill many pages. He petitions your Majesty to charge your governor straitly to remedy this.

In view of the abuses and sacrifices already discussed, is it any wonder that there were frequent revolts on the part of the people? As the historian Diaz has said

This has been the cause of tumults and insurrections, such as that of Palapag in 1649 and that of the province of Pampanga in 1660 and in the time of Governor Don Juan de Silva, that of 1614 because of the considerable felling of timber which was occasioned by so much shipbuilding as was caused by the undertaking against the Dutch¹. Then, most of the provinces of these islands mutinied and almost rose in insurrection, and there was danger of a general outbreak had not the religious who were ministers in the provinces reduced the minds of the natives to quiet, for they, overburdened by so heavy a load, were at the point of desperation.

An interesting result of the hardships connected with ship building in the Philippines was the migration of the Filipinos to New Spain, where they settled and engaged in the manufacture of palm wine which competed with wines brought from Spain itself².

¹ Blair and Robertson *The Philippine Islands 1493-1898* Vol XXXVII p 212 The Arthur H. Clark Company, Publishers

² See *ibid* Vol XVIII pp 183, 185

II FISHING AND FISH CULTURE

Early fisheries At the time of discovery and settlement the fishing industry was quite well developed and extended throughout the Philippines. Magellan and his men passed many fishing boats near the coasts of the islands. "All the shores of this bay (Manila writes Morga) are well provided with abundant fisheries"¹ The other islands also were described as having many large fisheries.² The inland waters, as well as the sea, furnished the inhabitants with abundant fish.³

Methods of catching fish Most of the devices used today for catching fish were known to the ancient Filipinos.

The natives' method of catching them is by making corrals of bejucos.⁴ They catch the fish inside these corrals, having made the enclosures fast by means of stakes. They also catch the fish in wicker baskets made from the *bejucos*, but most generally with *alarrayas* [a species of fishing net] *esparateles* [a round fishing net which is jerked along by the fisher through rivers and shallow places], other small *barrederas* [a net of which the meshes are closer and tighter than those of common nets so that the smallest fish may not escape it], and with hand lines and hooks.

The *salambao* (Fig 16) also was used. It "is a raft of reeds or bamboo, on which is erected an apparatus not unlike the mast and yard of a square rigged ship."⁵ To one end of the yard is attached a net which may be raised from and lowered into the water.⁶ There was fishing by night also, for this purpose candles made of resin were used to enable the fisher men to see.⁶

Fish culture Artificial fish culture seems to have been introduced by the Japanese before the arrival of the Spaniards.

¹ Blair and Robertson *The Philippine Islands 1493-1898* Vol XVI p 108
The Arthur H. Clark Company Publishers

² See *ibid* Vol V pp 45-53 73

³ See *ibid* Vol XVI pp 94-96

⁴ *Ibid* Vol XVI p 96

⁵ *Ibid* Vol X p 85

⁶ See *ibid* Vol II p 153

The greatest of the Japanese industries, which they taught the natives was breeding ducks and fishes for export¹ The rivers and coast waters of the Archipelago provided splendid feeding grounds for numerous varieties of fish and fowl, and the Japanese assisted nature's breeding process particularly in the case of fishes, in a manner followed by present day experts The roe were transported to safe places for development, tanks were used to guard small fish from harm, and various other precautionary measures were adopted

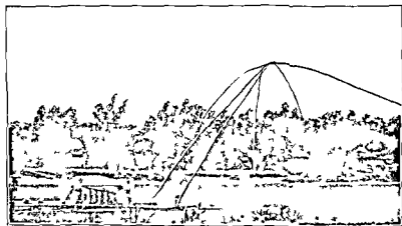


FIG 16 THE SALAMBAO A BAMBOO FISHING RAFT

properly to rear the fish To the early Spaniards the pisciculture of the Filipinos was regarded almost as a new art, so much more advanced it was than fish breeding methods in Europe

Other marine products Pearls and other marine products were obtained from the sea and exported to other countries As Morga says

In all parts, seed pearls are found in the ordinary oysters, and there are oysters as large as a buckler² From the [shells of the] latter the natives manufacture beautiful articles There are also very large sea turtles in all the islands Their shells are utilized by

¹ Antonio M Regidor and J Warren T Mason *Commercial Progress in the Philippine Islands* Dunn & Chidgey, London 1905

² Blair and Robertson *The Philippine Islands 1493-1898*, Vol XVI p 103 The Arthur H Clark Company, Publishers

the natives, and sold as an article of commerce to the Chinese and Portuguese, and other nations who go after them and esteem them highly, because of the beautiful things made from them

On the coasts of any of these islands are found many small white snail shells called *siguetes*. The natives gather them and sell them by measure to the Siamese, Cambodians, Pantanes and other peoples of the mainland. It serves there as money, and those nations trade with it, as they do with cacao-beans in Nueva Espana.

Like other Filipino industries of this period, fishing was neglected. "The Indians do not occupy themselves as formerly, in fishing but leave this work to the Chinese."¹

III MINING AND METAL WORK

Mining The early accounts abound in glowing descriptions of the mining wealth of this country. All these islands are in many districts, rich in placers and mines of gold, a metal which the natives dig and work.

Some placers and mines were worked at Paracali in the province of Camarines where there is good gold mixed with copper.² This commodity is also traded in the Ylocos for at the rear of this province, which borders the seacoast, are certain lofty and rugged mountains which extend as far as Cagayan. On the slopes of these mountains in the interior, live many natives as yet unsubdued and among whom no incursion has been made, who are called Ygolotes. These natives possess rich mines, many of gold and silver mixed. They are wont to dig from them only the amount necessary for their wants. They descend to certain places to trade this gold (without completing its refining or preparation), with the Ylocos, there they exchange it for rice, swine, carabaos, cloth and other things that they need. The Ylocos complete its refining and preparation and by their medium it is distributed throughout the country. Although an effort has been made with these Ygolotes to

¹ Blair and Robertson *The Philippine Islands 1493-1898* Vol. V, p. 85
The Arthur H. Clark Company, Publishers

² *Ibid.* Vol. XVI, pp. 101, 103

discover their mines and how they work them, and their method of working the metal, nothing definite has been learned, for the Ygolotes fear that the Spaniards will go to seek them for their gold, and say that they keep the gold better in the earth than in their houses

There are also many gold mines and placers in the other islands, especially among the Pintados on the Botuan River in Mindanao, and in Sebu, where a mine of good gold is worked, called Taribon. If the industry and efforts of the Spaniards were to be converted into the working of the gold as much would be obtained from any one of these islands as from those provinces which produce the most in the world. But since they attend to other means of gain rather than to this they do not pay the proper attention to this matter.

There was hardly a Filipino who did not possess chains and other articles of gold. 'almost the only wealth of these people has been in the mines and metals'¹ Again from another report we learn

In this island there are many gold mines, some of which have been inspected by the Spaniards, who say that the natives work them as is done in Nueva Espana with the mines of silver, and, as in those mines the vein of ore here is continuous.² Assays have been made, yielding so great wealth, that I shall not endeavor to describe them, lest I be suspected of lying. Time will prove the truth.

Mining neglected. According to the testimony of early writers, the Filipinos neglected their mining industry on the arrival of the Spaniards. Morga says that

the natives proceed more slowly in this and content themselves with what they already possess in jewels and gold ingots, handed down from antiquity and inherited from their ancestors.³ This is considerable for he must be poor and wretched who has no gold chains, calombigas [bracelets], and earrings.

¹ Blair and Robertson *The Philippine Islands 1493-1898* Vol VI p 223
The Arthur H. Clark Company Publishers

² *Ibid* Vol III p 243

³ *Ibid* Vol XVI, p 101

The reason the Filipinos more or less gave up mining was, according to Rizal's statement, because of the rapacity of the encomenderos and of the soldiers. The religious, historians assert, counseled the Filipinos to abandon the mining industry in order to free themselves from the annoyance caused by the encomenderos and by the soldiers. But Rizal goes on to say

Nevertheless, according to Colin (who was "informed by well disposed natives") more than 100,000 pesos of gold annually, conservatively stated, was taken from the mines during his time, after eighty years of abandonment.¹ According to "a manuscript of a grave person who had lived long in the islands" the first tribute of the two provinces of Ilocos and Pangasinan alone amounted to 109,500 pesos. A single encomendero in 1587, sent 3000 taheles of gold in the *Santa Ana*, which was captured by Cavendish

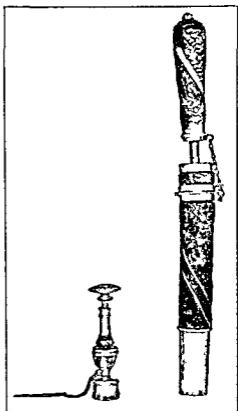


FIG 17 *SUMPAK* (LEFT) AND *KALIKOT* (RIGHT)

The *sumpak* of carabao horn and silver was used for producing fire by friction and the *kalikot* of ebony and silver for grinding betel nuts (Courtesy of Dr Pardo de Tavera)

Metal work—jewelry. The early Filipinos knew the art of metal working (Fig 17) "They are the best and most skilful artificers in jewels and gold that we have seen in this land,"²

¹ Blair and Robertson *The Philippine Islands 1493-1898* Vol XVI, p 101 n The Arthur H Clark Company Publishers

² *Ibid* Vol III, p 273

reported Governor Lavezaris when referring to the people of Camarines. Of the people of Mindoro it was said that "they possess great skill in mixing it [gold] with other metals¹. They give it an outside appearance so natural and perfect, and so fine a ring, that unless it is melted they can deceive all men, even the best of silversmiths."

Not only the chiefs but also the freemen and slaves wore jewelry, as is shown in the official accounts. The various classes of jewelry are also enumerated.

There are some chiefs in this island who have on their persons ten or twelve thousand ducats' worth of gold in jewels — to say nothing of the lands, slaves, and mines that they own². There are so many of these chiefs that they are innumerable. Likewise the individual subjects of these chiefs have a great quantity of the said jewels of gold, which they wear on their persons — bracelets, chains, and earrings of solid gold, daggers of gold, and other very rich trinkets. These are generally seen among them, and not only the chiefs and freemen have plenty of these jewels, but even slaves possess and wear golden trinkets upon their persons, openly and freely.

About their necks they wear gold necklaces, wrought like spun wax, and with links in our fashion, some larger than others³. On their arms they wear armlets of wrought gold, which they call *calombigas*, and which are very large and made in different patterns. Some wear strings of precious stones — cornelians and agates, and other blue and white stones, which they esteem highly. They wear around the legs some strings of these stones, and certain cords, covered with black pitch in many foldings, as garters.

Weapons. That the pre Spanish Filipinos had attained a comparatively high degree of civilization is indicated by their art in casting cannon, and in making other weapons. "Before⁴ the arrival of the Spaniards they had bronze culverins and

¹ Blair and Robertson, *The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898*, Vol. III, p. 81
The Arthur H. Clark Company, Publishers

² *Ibid* Vol. III, p. 267

³ *Ibid* Vol. XVI, pp. 76-77

⁴ *Ibid*, Vol. XVI, p. 82

other pieces of cast iron, with which they defended their forts and settlements, although their powder is not so well refined as that of the Spaniards" Rajah Soliman's house in Manila was described as containing a large quantity of iron and copper and many culverins

Next to Soliman's house was another which was used as a store room¹ It contained much iron and copper as well as culverins and cannon which had melted Some small and large cannon had just been begun There were the clay and wax moulds the largest of which was for a cannon seventeen feet long, resembling a culverin

The Spaniards took advantage of Filipino artillery, as reported in a letter of Governor Sande to the king and appropriated it for their use

*There is no artilleryman here who knows how to fire or cast artillery, nor is there any artillery*² I am writing to the viceroy our needs in this matter Having learned that the Moros of this country had artillery, I told them that they had nothing to fear now since we Spaniards are here, who will defend them, and that therefore they should give me their artillery By very affable address, I have obtained possession of as much as possible without any harshness and without seizing any man I have therefore in the fort in your Majesty's magazine four hundred quintals of bronze that seems to be good It was all taken within the radius of eight leagues For this reason and because often some of the pieces burst, we need here at this camp master workmen to cast artillery

The first artillery foundry of the Spaniards in this country was under a Pampangan Filipino

The other weapons made from metal by Filipinos were "much good armour — as iron corselets greaves wristlets gauntlets, and helmets — and some arquebuses and culverins"³

¹ Blair and Robertson *The Philippine Islands 1493-1898* Vol III pp 102-103 The Arthur H Clark Company Publishers

² *Ibid* Vol IV p 76

³ *Ibid* Vol III p 273

At the waist they carry a dagger four fingers in breadth, the blade pointed, and a third of a vara in length, the hilt is of gold or ivory¹ The pommel is open and has two cross bars or projections, without any other guard They are called *bararaos* They have two cutting edges, and are kept in wooden scabbards, or those of buffalo horn, admirably wrought

Rizal says that

this weapon has been lost, and even its name is gone¹ A proof of the decline into which the present Filipinos have fallen is the comparison of the weapons that they manufacture now, with those described to us by the historians The hilts of the *talibones* now are not of gold or ivory, nor are their scabbards of horn, nor are they admirably wrought

IV TEXTILE INDUSTRIES

Weaving was one of the industries well known to the Filipinos long before the coming of the Spaniards Contemporary writers all speak of the great quantity of cloths especially cotton, woven in the country² Says Governor Sande "All know how to raise cotton and silk, and everywhere they know how to spin and weave for clothing"³ Morga says

Cotton is raised abundantly throughout the islands⁴ It is spun and sold in the skein to the Chinese and other nations, who come to get it Cloth of different patterns is also woven from it, and the natives also trade that Other cloths, called medrinaques, are woven from the banana leaf

Besides cotton, the fiber of the abacá, or hemp plant, was used for weaving, in fact, it must have been used even before cotton was Cloths were woven also from piña and from silk imported from China The women knew the arts of lace-making and embroidery⁵

¹ Blair and Robertson *The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898*, Vol XVI, p 81
The Arthur H. Clark Company, Publishers

² See *ibid* Vol III, p 171

³ *Ibid* Vol IV, p 98

⁴ *Ibid* Vol XVI p 106

⁵ See *ibid* Vol III p 203

of the coconut and other varieties of palm¹ The cocoanuts furnish a nutritious food when rice is scarce² From the nut shells they make dishes and [from the fibrous husk] match cords for their arquebuses and with the leaves they make baskets

Industries of various kinds Among the other industries at the time of discovery and conquest were the manufacture of gunpowder the exportation to China of edible birds nests and the preparation of hides especially deerskins and their exportation to Japan As they possess many civet cats although smaller than those of Guinea they make use of the civet and trade it³

Building and lumbering That the Filipinos first seen by the Spaniards were not wandering savages as assumed by some later writers is shown by the manner in which they built their houses Judging from the early accounts these houses closely resembled those of today

Their houses are constructed of wood and are built of planks and bamboo raised high from the ground on large logs and one must enter them by means of ladders⁴ They have rooms like ours and under the house they keep their swine goats and fowls

The houses and dwellings of these natives are universally set upon stakes and *arigues* [i. e. columns] high above the ground⁵ Their rooms are small and the roofs low They are built and tiled with wood and bamboos and covered and roofed with nipa palm leaves Each house is separate and is not built adjoining another In the lower part are enclosures made by stakes and bamboos where their

See Blair and Robertson *The Philippine Islands 1493-1898* (The Arthur H. Clark Company Publishers) Vol. XXXIII p. 105 for a description of how the palm sap is obtained and the oil made and for other uses of the coconut.

¹ *Ibid.* Vol. V p. 169

² *Ibid.* Vol. XVI p. 105 See Vol. VII p. 188 See also Census of the Philippine Islands 1903 Vol. I p. 329

³ Blair and Robertson *The Philippine Islands 1493-1898* Vol. XXXIII p. 153 The Arthur H. Clark Company Publishers

⁴ *Ibid.* Vol. XVI pp. 117-118

fowls and cattle are reared, and the rice pounded and cleaned. One ascends into the houses by means of ladders that can be drawn up, which are made from two bamboos. Above are their open *batalanes* [galleries] used for household duties, the parents and [grown] children live together. There is little adornment and finery in the houses which are called *bahandin*.

Besides these houses, which are those of the common people and those of less importance, there are the chiefs' houses. They are built upon trees and thick *argues* with many rooms and comforts. They are well constructed of timber and planks, and are strong and large. They are furnished and supplied with all that is necessary, and are much finer and more substantial than the others. They are roofed, however, as are the others, with the palm leaves called *nipa*.

The edifices and houses of the natives of all these Filipinas Islands are built in a uniform manner, as are their settlements, for they always build them on the shores of the sea, between rivers and creeks. The natives generally gather in districts or settlements where they sow their rice, and possess their palm trees, *nipa* and banana groves, and other trees, and implements for their fishing and sailing.

Lumbering was quite an important activity, for, as Morga says "there is a large supply of lumber, which is cut and sawed, dragged to the rivers, and brought down by the natives."¹ This lumber is very useful for houses and buildings, and for the construction of small and large vessels."

VI FILIPINO CULTURE AS SHOWN IN INDUSTRIES

The study of early Filipino industries is of especial interest, as it enables us to form a clearer idea of the culture attained by our people at the time they came in contact with European civilization (Fig 18). The conclusions of two eminent students of Philippine development, James A. LeRoy and Jose

¹ Blair and Robertson *The Philippine Islands 1493-1898* Vol. XVI p. 84. The Arthur H. Clark Company Publishers.

Rizal, concerning this early culture are valuable LeRoy says that we must reject the view so often reiterated in late years that the early missionaries found nomadic or half fixed clans, and taught them the ways of village life (Fig 19)

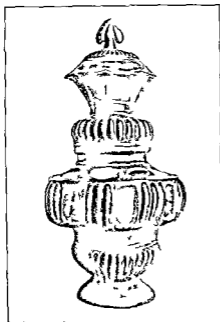


FIG 18 AN EXAMPLE OF INDIGENOUS PHILIPPINE ART

A clay jar made in Cebu and given to Governor Pascual Lurile (Courtesy of Dr Pardo de Tavera)

Village life there was already to some extent, and it was upon this that the friars built¹ Doubtless they modified it greatly until in time it approached in most ways as closely to European village life as might be expected in tropical islands whose agricultural resources are not as yet well developed From the first there would be a tendency to greater concentration about the churches, beginning with the rude structures of cane and thatch which were replaced before 1700 in all the older settlements by edifices of stone, frequently massive and imposing especially so as they tower over the acres of bam-

boo huts about them, from the inmates of which have come the forced labor which built them From the first, too, it was to the interest of the Spanish conquerors, lay and priestly, to improve the methods of communication between the communities which formed their centers of conversion or of exploration and collection of tribute Yet to represent either the friars or the soldiers as great pathfinders and reconstructors of wilderness is the work of ignorance When Legaspi's grandson, Juan de Salcedo, made

¹James A LeRoy *The Americans in the Philippines* Vol I p 9 11 Houghton Mifflin Company 1914

his memorable marches through northern Luzon, bringing vast acres under the dominion of Spain with a mere handful of soldiers, he found the modern Bigan a settlement of several thousand people; his successors in the conquest of the Upper Kagayan Valley, one of the most backward portions of the archipelago to-day, reported a population of forty thousand in the region lying around the modern Tugegagau, and so it was quite commonly everywhere on the seacoasts and on the largest rivers. Some very crude deductions have been made as to the conquest period by writers of recent years who assume that the natives were at the beginning mere bands of wandering savages, and that all the improvements visible in their external existence to-day were brought about in these early years. . . .

The friar missionaries did not bring about the first settlements and conquests under Legaspi; they did not blaze the way in wilderness and plant the flag of Spain in outlying posts long in advance of the soldiers, the latter profiting by their moral-suasion conquests to annex great territories for their own plunder; they did not find bloodthirsty savages, wholly sunk in degradation, and in the twinkling of an eye convert them to Christianity, sobriety, and decency . . .; they did not teach wandering bands of huntsmen or fishermen how to live peacefully in orderly settlements, how to cultivate the soil, erect buildings (except the stone churches), and did not bind these villages together by



FIG. 19 AN EXAMPLE OF PHILIPPINE HANDIWORK

A clay jar supposed to have been made in Cebu at the beginning of the nineteenth century. (Courtesy of Dr. Pardo de Tavera)

the sort of roads and bridges which we have to-day, though they had considerable share in this work, especially in later time, they did not find a squalid population of 400,000 to 750,000 in the archipelago, and wholly by the revolution wrought by them in ways of life make it possible for that population to increase by ten or twenty times in three centuries

And finally, to quote Rizal

All the histories of those first years, in short, abound in long accounts about the industry and agriculture of the natives mines,



FIG 20 CHONCÁ BOARD (END OF EIGHTEENTH CENTURY)

Choncá was an ancient Filipino game (Courtesy of Dr Pardo de Tavera)

gold-washings, looms, farms, barter, naval construction, raising of poultry and stock, weaving of silk and cotton, distilleries, manufactures of arms, pearl fisheries, the civet industry, the horn and hide industry, etc., are things encountered at every step, and, considering the time and the conditions in the islands, prove that there was life, there was activity, there was movement¹ [Fig 20]

VII INDUSTRIAL DECADENCE

As we have already learned, after the arrival of the Spaniards the Filipinos neglected many occupations, even forgetting some of them This is the testimony of all the early writers

Many² islands and villages are devastated and almost wiped out, partly by the Spaniards or because of them, and partly by famines of which, or at the beginning of them, the Spaniards were the

¹ José Rizal, "The Indolence of the Filipinos" originally published in *La Solidaridad*, Madrid, 1890 See the English translation by Charles Derbyshire, published by Austria Crag through the Philippine Education Company, Manila, in 1913 from which citations here are made

² Blair and Robertson *The Philippine Islands 1493-1898*, Vol XXXIV, p 279 The Arthur H Clark Company, Publishers

reason, for either by fear or to get rid of the Spaniards the natives neglected their sowing, and when they wished to sow then anguish came to them, and consequently, many people have died of hunger

Referring to the Chinese revolt of 1603, Morga says

After the end of the war the need of the city began, for, because of not having Sangleys who worked at the trades and brought in all the provisions there was no food nor any shoes to wear, not even at excessive prices¹ The native Indians are very far from exercising those trades, and have even forgotten much of farming and the raising of fowls, cattle, and cotton, and the weaving of cloth which they used to do in the days of their paganism and for a long time after the conquest of the country. In addition to this, people thought that Chinese vessels would not come to the islands with food and merchandise, on account of the late revolution

In reply to a questionnaire, a Filipino chief of that period stated that

before the coming of the Spaniards, all the natives lived in their villages, applying themselves to the sowing of their crops and the care of their vineyards and to the pressing of wine, others planting cotton, or raising poultry and swine, so that all were at work, moreover, the chiefs were obeyed and respected and the entire country well provided for² But all this has disappeared since the coming of the Spaniards

Rizal says

And not only Morga not only Chirino, Colin, Argensola, Gaspar de San Agustín, and others agree in this matter, but modern travelers, after two hundred and fifty years, examining the decadence and misery, assert the same thing³

¹ Blair and Robertson *The Philippine Islands 1493-1898* Vol. XVI pp. 47-48 The Arthur H. Clark Company Publishers

² *Ibid* Vol. VIII p. 87 This statement is a part of testimony under oath given by Nicolas Ramos chief and governor of Cubao village in compliance with an order of Gómez Pérez Dasmariñas forbidding the Indians to wear Chinese stuff

³ José Rizal 'The Indolence of the Filipinos' originally published in *La Solidaridad* Madrid 1890 See Derbyshire's translation p. 23 Manila 1913

How then, and in what way, was that active and enterprising infidel native of ancient times converted into the lazy and indolent Christian as our contemporary writers say? How is it that the Filipino people so fond of its customs as to border on routine, has given up its ancient habits of work, of trade, of navigation, etc., even to the extent of completely forgetting its past?

Reasons for industrial decadence In answer to these questions Rizal gives five sets of causes

In the first place came the wars and the consequent internal disorders which greatly reduced the population

It was necessary to subject the people either by cajolery or force, there were fights, there was slaughter; those who had submitted peacefully seemed to repent of it, insurrections were suspected and some occurred naturally there were executions, and many capable laborers perished¹ Add to this condition of disorder the invasion of Limahong, add the continual wars into which the inhabitants of the Philippines were plunged to maintain the honor of Spain to extend the sway of her flag in Borneo, in the Moluccas, and in Indo-China, to repel the Dutch foe costly wars, fruitless expeditions, in which each time thousands and thousands of native archers and rowers were recorded to have embarked, but whether they returned to their homes was never stated Like the tribute that once upon a time Greece sent to the Minotaur of Crete the Philippine youth embarked for the expedition saying good by to their country forever, on their horizon were the stormy sea, the interminable wars, the rash expeditions Wherefore, Gaspar de San Agustin says "Although anciently there were in this town of Dumangas many people, in the course of time they have very greatly diminished because the natives are the best sailors and most skillful rowers on the whole coast, and so the governors in the port of Iloilo take most of the people from this town for the ships that they send abroad When the Spaniards reached this island (Panay) it is said that there were on it

¹ José Rizal 'The Indolence of the Filipinos' originally published in *La Solidaridad* Manila 1890 See Derbyshire's translation, pp 25-26 Manila, 1913

more than fifty thousand families, but these diminished greatly, and at present they may amount to some fourteen thousand tributaries" From fifty thousand families to fourteen thousand tributaries in little over half a century¹

We would never get through, had we to quote all the evidence of the authors regarding the frightful diminution of the inhabitants of the Philippines in the first years after the discovery. In the time of their first bishop, that is, ten years after Legazpi, Philip II said that they had been reduced to less than two-thirds

In the second place, great numbers of people were either killed or taken prisoners in the attacks of the pirates from the south

Add to these fatal expeditions that wasted all the moral and material energies of the country, the frightful inroads of the terrible pirates from the south, instigated and encouraged by the government, first in order to get a complaint and afterwards disarm the islands subjected to it, inroads that reached the very shores of Manila even Malate itself, and during these were seen to set out for captivity and slavery in the baleful glow of burning villages, strings of wretches who had been unable to defend themselves, leaving behind them the ashes of their homes and the corpses of their parents and children¹ Morga, who recounts the first piratical invasion, says "The boldness of these people of Mindanao did great damage to the Visayan Islands, as much by what they did in them as by the fear and fright which the natives acquired, because the latter were in the power of the Spaniards who held them subject and tributary and unarmed, in such manner that they did not protect them from their enemies or leave them means with which to defend themselves as they did when there were no Spaniards in the country" These piratical attacks continually reduced the number of the inhabitants of the Philippines since the independent Malays were especially notorious for their atrocities and murders, sometimes because they believed that to preserve their independence it was necessary to weaken the

¹ José Rizal The Indolence of the Filipinos originally published in *La Solidaridad* Madrid 1890 See Derbyshire's translation pp 26-28 Manila 1913

Spaniard by reducing the number of his subjects, sometimes because a greater hatred and a deeper resentment inspired them against the Christian Filipinos who, being of their own race, served the stranger in order to deprive them of their precious liberty. These expeditions lasted about three centuries, being repeated five and ten times a year, and each expedition cost the islands over eight hundred prisoners.

'With the invasions of the pirates from Sulu and Mindanao, says Padre Gaspar de San Agustin [the island of Bantayan near Cebu] 'has been greatly reduced because they easily captured the people there, since the latter had no place to fortify themselves and were far from help from Cebu. The hostile Sulu did great damage in this island in 1608, leaving it almost depopulated''

In the third place, the construction of ships by the Spaniards was disastrous to Filipino industries as already pointed out.

In order to make headway against so many calamities, to secure their sovereignty and to take the offensive in these disastrous contests to isolate the warlike Sulus from their neighbors in the south, to care for the needs of the empire of the Indies (for one of the reasons why the Philippines were kept, as contemporary documents prove, was their strategical position between New Spain and the Indies), to wrest from the Dutch their growing colonies of the Moluccas and thus get rid of some troublesome neighbors to maintain, in short the trade of China with New Spain it was necessary to construct new and large ships which, as we have seen, costly as they were to the country for their equipment and the rowers they required, were not less so because of the manner in which they were constructed.¹ Fernando de los Rios Coronel, who fought in these wars and later turned priest, speaking of these King's ships, said 'As they were so large the timber needed was scarcely to be found in the forests (of the Philippines!), and thus it was necessary to seek it with great difficulty in the most remote of them, where, once found, in order to haul and convey it to the shipyard, the towns of the surrounding country

¹ José Rizal *The Indolence of the Filipinos* originally published in *La Solidaridad* Madrid 1890. See Derbyshire's translation pp 28-29 Manila 1913

had to be depopulated of natives, who get it out with immense labor, damage, and cost to them. The natives furnished the masts for a galleon, according to the assertion of the *Franciscans*, and I heard the governor of the province where they were cut, which is Laguna de Bay, say that to haul them seven leagues over very broken mountains 6000 natives were engaged three months without furnishing them food, which the wretched native had to seek for himself!"

once so flourishing and so well cultivated the towns thinned that had formerly been inhabited by many leading families!

And finally the people were advised by the priests to neglect their industries in view of the fact that material wealth was seized by the conquerors

How is it strange then that discouragement may have been infused into the spirit of the inhabitants of the Philippines when in the midst of so many calamities they did not know whether they would see sprout the seed they were planting whether their field was going to be their grave or their crop would go to feed their executioner?¹ What is there strange in it when we see the pious but impotent friars of that time trying to free their poor parishioners from the tyranny of the encomenderos by advising them to stop work in the mines to abandon their commerce, to break up their looms pointing out to them heaven for their whole hope preparing them for death as their only consolation?

Man works for an object Remove the object and you reduce him to inaction The most active man in the world will fold his arms from the instant he understands that it is madness to bestir himself that this work will be the cause of his trouble that for him it will be the cause of vexations at home and of the pirates greed abroad It seems that these thoughts have never entered the minds of those who cry out against the indolence of the Filipinos

Thus is understood that sad discouragement which we find in the friar writers of the 17th century speaking of once very fertile plains submerged of provinces and towns depopulated of products that have disappeared from trade of leading families exterminated These pages resemble a sad and monotonous scene in the night after a lively day Of Cagayan Padre de San Agustin speaks with mournful brevity A great deal of cotton of which they made good cloth that the Chinese and Japanese every year bought and carried away In the historian's time the industry and the trade had come to an end!

¹ José Rizal *The Indolence of the Filipinos* originally published in *La Sol daridad* Madrid 1890 See Derbysh re's translation pp 30-32 Manila 1913

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- 8 Census of the Philippine Islands 1918, Vol IV, Part I

QUESTIONS AND TOPICS FOR FURTHER STUDY

- 1 Describe the character and size of pre Spanish Filipino boats and ships (Reference No 1)
- 2 Describe Spanish shipbuilding in the Philippines (Reference No 2)
- 3 What were the effects of shipbuilding on the people?
- 4 Comparing early methods of fishing with those of today, can you say that there has been much progress in this industry? (Reference No 8)
- 5 What articles could the Filipinos make from metal when the Spaniards arrived?
- 6 What kind of cloths were made at this time?
- 7 Mention other industries developed during this period
- 8 What did the industries show concerning early Filipino culture?
- 9 What were the effects of Spanish conquest on industries?
- 10 Read José Rizal's "The Indolence of the Filipinos," and present a written summary of it
11. What was Rizal's purpose in writing "The Indolence of the Filipinos"?

CHAPTER VI

COMMERCE

I PRE SPANISH TRADE RELATIONS

Character of early trade Centuries before the Spanish discovery the Filipinos were in regular commercial intercourse with the neighboring countries of China Japan Borneo and others In the work of Chao Ju kua, a Chinese geographer of the thirteenth century we learn that the foreign traders import porcelain commercial gold iron vases for perfumes leaden objects glass pearls of all colors and iron needles¹ black damask and other silk fabrics fish nets tin, silk umbrellas and a kind of basket woven from rattan In exchange the Filipinos exported cotton (perhaps the kapok or tree cotton) sinamay (a light fabric made from abaca), jute, and other textiles yellow wax, coconuts camotes fine mats, pearls shells (tortoise shell) and betel nuts

Method of trading The following account of the early method of trading is interesting

When [Chinese] merchantmen arrive at that port they cast anchor at a place [called] the place of Mandarins² That place serves them as a market or site where the products of their countries are exchanged When a vessel has entered into the port [its captain] offers presents consisting of white parasols and umbrellas which serve them for daily use The traders are obliged to observe these civilities in order to be able to count on the favor of those gentlemen

¹ Blair and Robertson *The Philippine Islands 1493-1898* Vol XXXIV p 187 The Arthur H Clark Company Publishers

² *Ib* I Vol XXXIV p 186

In order to trade, the savage traders are assembled and have the goods carried in baskets, and although the bearers are often unknown none of the goods are ever lost or stolen. The savage traders transport these goods to other islands and thus eight or nine months pass until they have obtained other goods of value equivalent to those that have been received [from the Chinese]. This forces the traders of the vessel to delay their departure, and hence it happens that the vessels that maintain trade with Ma yi are the ones that take the longest to return to their country [China].

When foreign traders come to one of their villages, they must not touch the ground, but must remain aboard their vessel, which is anchored in the middle of the current and announce their presence by beat of drum¹. Thereupon the savage traders approach in their light craft, in which they carry cotton, yellow wax, strange cloth, coconuts, onions, and fine mats, and all those things they offer for sale in exchange [for the articles of the Chinese]. In case of misunderstanding in the price of the goods it is necessary to summon the chief of the traders of that place, so that he may present himself in person, and arrange the tariff to the satisfaction of all.

Rizal pointed with pride to the honesty of the Filipino traders in their dealings with the Chinese. He said:

Before the arrival of the Europeans, the Malayan Filipinos carried on an active trade not only among themselves but also with all the neighboring countries². A Chinese manuscript of the 13th century, translated by Dr Hirth (*Globus* Sept 1889), speaks of China's relations with the islands' relations purely commercial, in which mention is made of the activity and honesty of the traders of Luzon, who took the Chinese products and distributed them throughout all the islands traveling for nine months, and then returned to pay religiously, even for the merchandise that the Chinamen did not remember to have given them.

¹ Blair and Robertson *The Philippine Islands 1493-1898* Vol XXXIV p 189. The Arthur H. Clark Company Publishers.

² José Rizal *The Indolence of the Filipinos* originally published in *La Solidaridad* Madrid 1890. See Derbyshire's translation p 18. Manila 1913.

II FILIPINO COMMERCE WHEN THE SPANIARDS ARRIVED

Nature and extent of this commerce The first Spaniards who came to the Philippines had lively commercial dealings not only with the different islands but also with countries near by

In 1521 Pigafetta tells us the first Filipinos that the Spaniards met conducted Magellan "to their boats where they had their merchandise which consisted of cloves, cinnamon pepper, nutmegs mace, gold and other things and they made us understand by gestures that such articles were to be found in the islands to which we were going" ¹

That the islands maintained relations with neighboring countries and even with distant ones is proved by the ships from Siam laden with gold and slaves, that Magellan found in Cebu These ships paid certain duties to the king of the island In the same year 1521, the survivors of Magellan's expedition met the son of the Rajah of Luzon, who, as captain general of the sultan of Borneo and admiral of his fleet, had conquered for him the great city of Lave (Sarawak?) "Might this captain who was greatly feared by all his foes, have been the Rajah Matanda whom the Spaniards afterwards encountered in Tondo in 1570?" ¹ asks Rizal

From the Moros whom he captured in Butuan, Legazpi learned "that they carried iron and tin from Borneo, and from China porcelain, bells made of copper according to their manner, benzoin, and painted tapestry, from India pans and tempered iron pots" ² Among the captured Moros was the pilot, "a most experienced man who had much knowledge, not only of matters concerning these Filipinas Islands, but those of Maluco, Borneo, Malacca, Java, India, and China, where he had had much experience in navigation and trade" ²

¹ José Rizal *The Indolence of the Filipinos* originally published in *La Solidaridad* Madrid 1890 See Derbyshire's translation p 19 Manila, 1913

² Blair and Robertson *The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898* Vol II p 116 The Arthur H. Clark Company, Publishers

Between Luzon and Cebu there was active commerce, as may be seen from this letter to the King

Moros have come to this port where we are present from certain islands called Luçon and Bindoro¹ They have brought rice and gold to sell in exchange for silver and pearls These men have told us that the Chinese go to their land to trade and carry away all the products of this archipelago namely, gold, wax, and slaves From the information given us it is a rich land and has [plenty] of trade

Writing to the viceroy in 1569 Father Rada said that many merchants of Luzon, Jolo, and other parts traveled continually throughout the Philippines searching either for gold or for slaves

The Filipinos made use of the caracoa, which is a kind of boat, for trading among the islands, these boats were filled with dried fish wine, salt, wax cotton, and coconuts Dr James A Robertson says of early trade in the Philippines

There is no doubt of the frequency of interisland trade among the peoples of the Philippines at an early period Trade was stimulated by the very fact that the Malay peoples, except those who have been driven into the mountainous interiors, are by their very nature a seafaring people The fact of an interisland traffic is indicative of a culture above that possessed by a people in the barbarian stage of culture Of course, there was considerable Chinese trade as well throughout the islands

At that time, that sea where float the islands like a set of emeralds on a paten of bright glass, that sea was everywhere traversed by junks parans, barangays, vintas, vessels swift as shuttles so large that they could maintain a hundred rowers on a side (Morga) that sea bore everywhere commerce, industry, agriculture, by the force of the oars, moved to the sound of warlike songs of the genealogies and achievements of the Philippine divinities (Colin Labor Evangelica chap xv)

¹ Blair and Robertson *The Philippine Islands 1493-1898* Vol XXXIV, p 216 The Arthur H Clark Company Publishers

Methods of trading observed by Spaniards. What method of exchange was used by the Filipinos when the Spaniards came? According to Morga, goods were exchanged by barter and by the medium of money in the form of gold or metal bells.

Their customary method of trading was by bartering one thing for another, such as food, cloth, cattle, fowls, lands, houses, fields, slaves, fishing-grounds, and palm-trees (both nipa and wild)¹ Sometimes a price intervened, which was paid in gold, as agreed upon, or in metal bells brought from China. These bells they regard as precious jewels, they resemble large pans and are very sonorous. They play upon these at their feasts, and carry them to the war in their boats instead of drums and other instruments. There are often delays and terms for certain payments, and bondsmen who intervene and bind themselves, but always with very usurious and excessive profits and interests.

There was a territorial division of labor between the people of the coasts and those living inland. "The inhabitants of the coast are fishermen who barter their fish and buy from those living inland, who till the soil"² The food of the latter consisted of rice, bananas, sweet potatoes, yams, chickens, and pork. Says Loarca "The inhabitants of the mountains can not live without the fish, salt, and other articles of food, and the jars and dishes, of other districts; nor, on the other hand, can those of the coast live without the rice and cotton of the mountaineers"³

III DOMESTIC TRADE AFTER THE ARRIVAL OF THE SPANIARDS

Regulations and restrictions. To understand the regulations and restrictions on trade imposed by the Spanish government, we should remember the economic theories which then

¹ Blair and Robertson, *The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898*, Vol. XVI, p. 128
The Arthur H. Clark Company, Publishers

² *Ibid.* Vol. III, p. 202

³ *Ibid.* Vol. V, p. 121.

prevailed in Europe Control by public authorities was the dominant policy toward trade

The public authorities were not content with having provided society with the instruments of exchange, with the growing trade they felt themselves bound to regulate every sort of economic transaction in which individual self interest seemed to lead to injustice¹ This regulation was guided by the general principle that just or reasonable price only should be paid, and only such articles sold as were of good quality and correct measure

Travel restricted With the coming of the Spaniards trade relations between the towns were subordinated to the needs of a more vital policy — the Christianization of the Philippines Says Morga

Neither are the natives allowed to go out of their villages for trade, except by permission of the governor, or of his *alcaldes mayor* and justices or even of the religious, who most often have been embarrassed by this, because of the instruction² This is done so that the natives may not wander about aimlessly when there is no need of it, away from their homes and settlements

It is true that the people were still free to move from one island to another, and from one province to another, paying tribute in the place to which they moved

But on the other hand they may not move from a place having instruction to one without it, nor in the same village from one *barangay* to another, nor from one faction to another³ In this respect the necessary precautions are made by the government, and the necessary provisions by the *Audiencia* so that this system may be kept, and so that all annoyances resulting from the moving of the settled natives of one place to another place may be avoided

¹ Leon Carroll Marshall *An Introduction to English Economic History and Theory The Middle Ages* p 181 reprinted in *Readings in Industrial Society*, p 130 The University of Chicago Press 1918

² Blair and Robertson *The Philippine Islands 1493-1898* Vol XVI pp 162 163 The Arthur H Clark Company, Publishers

³ *Ibid* Vol XVI p 162

Prices fixed. One of the provisions of the treaty of peace between Legazpi and Tupas, the chief of Cebu, related to trade and prices

It is a condition that the said chiefs and natives shall be obliged, in selling to the Spaniards any or all provisions native to their land, and which they may wish to sell the latter, to demand only the just prices current among them, and those usually imposed by them without advancing the price above its usual value¹ This price shall be fixed and understood, now and in future, and there shall be no change in it Likewise the said governor shall fix moderate rates on the articles of barter brought from Spain for the natives After these prices are fixed, neither side may advance them

An ordinance of the Audiencia in 1599 fixed the price at which hens, chickens and capons should be bought and sold, and prohibited higgling for higher prices

In order that the dearness of the price of fowls may cease (for they are the principal sustenance of this land), and because it is just that there shall be a common and general price for all, they ordered that no person — Spanish, Sangley, native, or others, of any quality, rank, or condition whatever — may sell or cause to be sold hens, capons, and chickens, whether of their own breeding, or of their income, profit, or property, in any way whatsoever, at a higher price than the following a laying Sangley hen, two and one half reals, a Moro hen, two reals, a male chicken, one real, a pullet, one and one half reals, a Sangley capon, three and one half reals — under this penalty, that whoever shall be found selling at a higher price shall lose the fowls which are thus sold, which shall be divided into three parts, among the hospitals of this city, and the informer or the judge who shall execute this decree² At this price those who have fowls shall be obliged to give them to anyone who would buy The justices are charged and ordered to take care to have this scale observed and

¹ Blair and Robertson *The Philippine Islands 1493-1898* Vol II p 135
The Arthur H Clark Company, Publishers ² *Ibid* Vol X, pp 306-307

enforced in their jurisdictions, with the utmost strictness. It shall be proclaimed and published therein, that no one may plead ignorance thereof.

The same ordinance fixed the price of pork and fish, providing further that pork might be sold only "publicly at a counter, by weight and at fixed rates, under penalty of confiscation of whatever is found on sale in any other way — which shall go to the alguazil or judge executing the decree — and twenty lashes applied to the seller" ¹

Supply of provisions regulated As a result of the abandonment of many occupations by the Filipinos and the consequent scarcity of provisions, the Audiencia in 1598 enacted an ordinance, similar to others previously approved. It declared that

in order that the provisions of the said act may be better fulfilled, and with greater ease and convenience, and less vexation to the natives, they did so order, that, now and henceforth, the alcaldes-mayor of these environs of Manila — namely, those of Tondo, Pampanga, Bulacan, Laguna, Mindoro, Balayan — shall be under the obligation of providing this city from their said districts with the fowls, swine, and eggs necessary for its sustenance, at the time and in the quantity and order following:

Then follows a schedule of months during which the various districts were required to supply Manila with provisions: Tondo, from January to March, inclusive, Pampanga, from April to June, Bulacan, during July and August, Laguna, during September and October, Mindoro and Balayan, during November and December.

They² are charged and ordered to take particular care to be punctual in entering upon their months without awaiting any other orders, and to send to this city each week, until their term is finished, to the person who shall be nominated and appointed, three hundred laying hens — the fourth or third part of them pullets.

¹ Blair and Robertson *The Philippine Islands 1493-1898* Vol X p 306
The Arthur H. Clark Company Publishers ² *Ibid* Vol X pp 308-309

likewise two thousand eggs, and the number of swine that he may consider proper, and that can be produced. And the said person, as soon as he shall receive them, shall distribute them all in due order and form, to those persons and in the manner ordained and ordered, paying immediately those who brought them, according to the scale imposed by this royal Audiencia — advising the natives that during Lent, in place of fowls, they must send eggs

In accordance with European economics of that period, the Audiencia of Manila prohibited forestalling the market, a practice which was generally condemned throughout the Middle Ages. Thus the Filipinos were forbidden "to buy or contract for merchandise or provision on its way to market, with the intention of selling it again at a higher price"¹ The reason for such a measure was that in the

city of Manila all sorts of provisions have become very dear, on account of the disorder that has existed and does exist, through having allowed many Sangleys and native Indians to go through this city and five leagues round about it, trading and bartering the said provisions — as, for instance, rice, wine, fowls, swine, cows, buffalo, game, eggs, geese, kids, cocoanuts, bananas, pullets, capons fish, olive oil, vinegar, and other provisions that are gathered and raised within the five leagues, or are bought from outside from the other provinces, islands, villages, and hamlets — and act as hucksters and retailers of these provisions²

Therefore, it was ordered

that no person — Spaniard, Sangley, native, or of any other nation, quality, and rank whatever — shall trade or barter, now and henceforth, in the said provisions, or in any of them, in this said city or within the five leagues of its jurisdiction²

As penalty for violation of this prohibition, everything found in the trader's possession was to be confiscated,

¹ See Webster's International Dictionary for other meanings of *forestalling*

² Blair and Robertson *The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898*, Vol. X p. 296
The Arthur H. Clark Company, Publishers

half to be applied to his Majesty's treasury, and the other half to go to the informer or constable who exposes him, or to the judge who gives sentence ¹

Besides this, any person who shall be discovered not to have fulfilled this obligation shall, if he be a Spaniard, for the first offense be imprisoned twenty days in the common jail, and for the second he shall be banished for six months from this city and the five-league circuit of this court, to a prescribed residence. If he be a Sangley or an Indian he shall for the first offense be given one hundred lashes, and for the second shall serve in his Majesty's galleys, or at the force, or in the power house, for a period of two years without pay

It was likewise

ordered that no person shall go by way of the sea or the river or by highways whence come the said provisions, to take or buy them from those who should be bringing them, before the arrival of the latter with them in this city, within the five leagues, under penalty of one hundred lashes ¹

If hucksters, or middlemen, were not allowed to intervene in trade, who could bring the needed provisions to market? Only the farmers themselves were allowed to do this

Those who obtain the said provisions by cultivation and labor within a circuit of five leagues or who bring them from outside this city to sell them therein, may sell and bring them freely, so that it be not to the said hucksters or retailers ¹

Officials in trade There were decrees and ordinances prohibiting any official from engaging in trade with the people of his jurisdiction, either directly or through agents. According to a report of conditions submitted by Morga this regulation applied to all classes of officers, nevertheless many of the Spaniards used their official positions for personal profit

¹ Blair and Robertson *The Philippine Islands 1493-1898* Vol X pp 296-297 The Arthur H. Clark Company Publishers

The chief aim of the *alcaldes mayor*, *corregidores*, and assistants is trade¹ They buy up by wholesale the products of the land especially rice and other food supplies, exactly as is said above concerning the religious of certain curacies, and their interpreters and helpers

It is not advantageous for these *alcaldes mayor* and *corregidores* or their assistants or friends, to receive the royal collections, for they perpetrate the numberless frauds and cheats, both against the royal treasury and against the Indians, and there is no remedy for this as they themselves administer justice They hold the collections in their possession for a long time, trading with them, and the royal treasury is the loser

Referring to the economic activities of religious men, Morga says in the same report that "they trade and make a profit in their districts, from rice, wax, wine gold, boats, fowls, cloth, and deerskins, to the great detriment of the Indians as well as that of the entire country"²

The method by which the *alcalde mayor* profited from unfair commercial competition with the people under him is illustrated in a report of Bishop Salazar, the great defender of the Filipinos

Before the governor Don Gonçalo Ronquillo came, there were not more than three or four *alcaldes mayor* in all these islands, but now there are sixteen and most of them are men who came with him³ As they came poor, and as the salaries are small, they have taken away the Indians — as all affirm, and it is common talk — at the time for harvesting rice, and they buy up all other provisions, and many profit by selling them again In this way everything had become dear, because, as they have forbidden the Indians to trade and traffic, they sell at whatever price they wish Formerly the Indians brought their produce to the gates, and sold it at very low prices, for they are satisfied with very little gain, which is not true of the Spaniards

¹ Blair and Robertson *The Philippine Islands 1493-1898* Vol X pp 91-95 The Arthur H Clark Company Publishers

² *Ibid* Vol X p 75

³ *Ibid* Vol V, p 217

To the same effect are the words, quoted by Rizal, of a French traveler. He says with reference to the rosy picture a friar had given him of the Philippines

The good curate had not told me about the governor, the foremost official of the district who was too much taken up with the ideal of getting rich to have time to tyrannize over his docile subjects, the governor, charged with ruling the country and collecting the various taxes in the government's name, devoted himself almost wholly to trade in his hands the high and noble functions he performs are nothing more than instruments of gain¹. He monopolizes all the business and instead of developing on his part the love of work, instead of stimulating the too natural indolence of the natives he with abuse of his powers thinks only of destroying all competition that may trouble him or attempt to participate in his profits. It matters little to him that the country is impoverished, without cultivation, without commerce, without industry, just so the governor is quickly enriched!

In the face of such commercial handicaps, is it surprising that the Filipino developed a distaste for trade which lingered till the end of the Spanish regime?

IV SPANISH COMMERCE WITH THE ORIENT

Manila a distributing center The settlement of Manila by the Spaniards meant the realization of Spain's dream (the common dream of all western European nations) of gaining access to the Orient, the source of the much coveted Oriental goods. The proximity of the Philippines to China, India, Japan, Malacca, and the Moluccas enabled the Spaniards to open a new trade route for these goods, with Manila as distributing center.

The beginning of trade with China Morga says that it was during the term of Guido de Lavezaris (1572-1575) that trade

¹ José Rizal. *The Indolence of the Filipinos* originally published in *La Solidaridad* Madrid 1890. See Derbyshire's translation pp 37-38. Manila 1913

was established between China and Manila. Lavezaris himself describes the trade of that time.

The Chinese have come here on trading expeditions, since our arrival, for we have always tried to treat them well¹. Therefore during the two years that we have spent on this island, they have come in greater numbers each year, and with more ships, and they come earlier than they used to, so that their trade is assured to us. They do not bring to sell the silks and beautiful things that they take to Malaca. They say that, if there were any one to buy them, they would bring all we wanted, and so, since trading with the Spaniards, they bring each year better and much richer wares. If merchants would come from Nueva España, they might enrich themselves, and increase the royal customs in these parts — both through trade and the mines.

According to another report, in 1572 three ships from China came to Manila and five to the other islands. That the early suspicion of the Chinese traders was soon dispelled by the good treatment shown them by the Spaniards appears in the same report.

The growth of this commerce was so rapid that by 1587 Governor Santiago de Vera was able to report that many vessels had

come to these islands from China this year, and especially to this city — more than thirty of considerable burden, laden with a quantity of merchandise, horses, cows, and more than three thousand men². I have treated them hospitably and given them a kind reception.

Two years later, in 1589, the same governor reported further increase of Chinese trade.

The trade with the Chinese is continually increasing in these islands³. About four thousand men of that land are here as a general rule, including merchants and workmen. These become citizens and

¹ Blair and Robertson *The Philippine Islands 1493-1898* Vol III pp 181-182. The Arthur H. Clark Company, Publishers.

² *Ibid* Vol VI, p 302

³ See *ibid* Vol III, pp 243-245

⁴ *Ibid* Vol VII, p 89

settle in the *alcaiceria* [silk market] of this city. In the surrounding villages there are also a large number of Chinese. Their houses are being rapidly built of stone, according to the Spanish custom.

¹ Nature and extent of trade with China. Thirty or forty ships (Fig. 21) sailed from China every year, usually in March, and

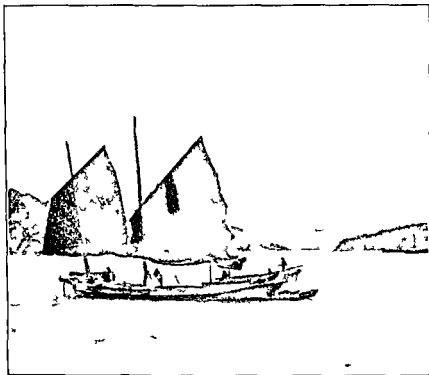


FIG. 21. CHINESE TRADING JUNKS

reached Manila in fifteen or twenty days. Here the traders sold their goods and, with the exception of some of the larger dealers, returned about the end of May to avoid the stormy season. Morga gives a list of the goods imported from China.

These¹ vessels come laden with merchandise, and bring wealthy merchants who own ships, and servants and factors of other mer-

¹ Blair and Robertson *The Philippine Islands 1493-1898* Vol. XVI pp. 178-180. The Arthur H. Clark Company Publishers.

chants who remain in China. They leave China with the permission and license of the Chinese viceroys and mandarins. The merchandise that they generally bring and sell to the Spaniards consists of raw silk in bundles, of the fineness of two strands [*dos cabeças*], and other silk of poorer quality, fine untwisted silk, white and of all colors, wound in small skeins, quantities of velvets, some plain, and some embroidered in all sorts of figures, colors, and fashions — others with body of gold, and embroidered with gold, woven stuffs and brocades, of gold and silver upon silk of various colors and patterns, quantities of gold and silver thread in skeins over thread and silk — but the glitter of all the gold and silver is false, and only on paper, damasks, satins, tafetans, *gorvaranes*, *picotes*, and other cloths of all colors, some finer and better than others, a quantity of linen made from grass, called *lençesuelo* [handkerchief], and white cotton cloth of different kinds and qualities for all uses. They also bring musk, benzoin, and ivory, many bed ornaments hangings, coverlets, and tapestries of embroidered velvet, damask and *gorvaran* of different shades, tablecloths, cushions and carpets, horse trappings of the same stuff, and embroidered with glass beads and seed pearls, also some pearls and rubies, sapphires and crystal stones, metal basins, copper kettles, and other copper and cast-iron pots, quantities of all sorts of nails, sheet-iron, tin and lead, saltpetre and gun powder. They supply the Spaniards with wheat flour, preserves made of orange, peach, *scorzonera*, pear, nutmeg, and ginger, and other fruits of China, salt pork and other salt meats, live fowls of good breed and very fine capons, quantities of green fruit, oranges of all kinds, excellent chestnuts, walnuts, pears, and *chucueyes* (both green and dried, a delicious fruit), quantities of fine thread of all kinds, needles, and knick knacks, little boxes and writing cases, beds, tables, chairs, and gilded benches, painted in many figures and patterns. They bring domestic buffaloes, geese that resemble swans, horses, some mules and asses, even caged birds, some of which talk, while others sing, and they make them play innumerable tricks. The Chinese furnish numberless other gewgaws and ornaments of little value and worth, which are esteemed among the Spaniards, besides a quantity of fine crockery of all kinds, *canganes*, *sines*, and black and blue robes,

tadley, which are beads of all kinds, strings of cornelians and other beads and precious stones of all colors, pepper and other spices, and rarities — which, did I refer to them all, I would never finish, nor have sufficient paper for it

Morga's list indicates the early dependence of the Philippine Islands on China not alone for luxuries but even for necessities. The merchandise brought by the Chinese was unloaded into sampans and taken to the Parian (Chinese quarter) or to houses and magazines outside the city, and there freely sold. No Spaniard, Sangley, or other person was allowed to go directly to the ship to buy or to trade merchandise, food or anything else. The purchase price for all goods was paid in silver and reals for the Sangleys did not want gold or any other articles, neither would they take other things back to China in exchange.

Bad effect of Chinese trade on Filipino industries. The competition with goods imported from China, especially the cheap cotton cloths, proved injurious to industries of the Philippine Islands. Governor Gomez Perez Dasmarias wrote the following:

I must state that I regret the trade of these Chinese for it seems to me injurious.¹ The most of the trade is in cotton stuffs — the material for which they take from this country in the first place, and bring it back woven. The natives here could just as well make these, if they chose of their own cotton, and even better than those which come from China.

To stop Chinese competition an ordinance was issued which forbade the native Indians to wear silks or other stuffs from China. To justify such a drastic measure the sworn testimony of leading Filipino chiefs and of Spanish officials was taken. In reply to one of the questions Nicolas Ramos, a chief, stated that after the Spaniards became established in the

¹ Blair and Robertson *The Philippine Islands 1493-1898* Vol VIII p 273
The Arthur H. Clark Company Publishers

islands he noticed an increase in the number of Chinese each year. There were usually at least eight ships from China in a year and in some years this witness saw as many as twenty or thirty all laden with cloths and bolts of silk. When the natives of the islands especially those of the chief's province saw all these Chinese cloths they made less effort to weave their own. They began to clothe themselves with the stuffs from China discarding their own entirely so as to avoid the labor of making them. Ramos said that in his time all alike without distinction of chief from *timagua* or of *timagua* from slave dressed in these stuffs making it impossible to judge of their rank from their dress.

In this way a very large quantity of cloth is used — far more as it seems to this witness than the number stated in the question and he is very certain that if this tendency is not checked and corrected the price of every one of those stuffs will in a few years be doubled for now even the cheapest costs not less than a peso¹

Trade with Japan From Nagasaki Japan came Japanese and Portuguese merchants who brought excellent wheat flour and highly prized salt meats

They also bring some fine woven silk goods of mixed colors beautiful and finely decorated screens done in oil and gilt all kinds of cutlery many suits of armor spears catans and other weapons all finely wrought writing cases boxes and small cases of wood japanned and curiously marked other pretty gewgaws excellent fresh pears barrels and casks of good salt tunny cages of sweet voiced larks called *fit baros* and other trifles²

The bulk of the merchandise was used in the country. Returning to Japan during the months of June and July the ships carried raw Chinese silk gold deerskin brazil wood for dyes honey manufactured wax palm and Castilian wine civet cats

¹ Blair and Robertson *The Philippine Islands 1493-1898* Vol VIII p 83
The Arthur H. Clark Company Publishers

² *Ibid* Vol XVI p 183

large tibors in which to store their tea glass, cloth, and many curiosities from Spain

Trade with India and the Moluccas From the Moluccas, Malacca, and India the Portuguese brought many articles

They take merchandise consisting of spices — cloves, cinnamon, and pepper, slaves, both black and Cafres, cotton cloth of all sorts, fine muslins [*caniques*] linens gauzes, *rambuties*, and other delicate and precious cloths amber, and ivory, cloths edged with *pita*, for use as bed-covers, hangings, and rich counterpanes from Vengala [Bengal] Cochin, and other countries, many gilt articles and curiosities, jewels of diamonds, rubies, sapphires, topazes, balas rubies, and other precious stones, both set and loose, many trinkets and ornaments from India, wine, raisins, and almonds, delicious preserves and other fruits brought from Portugal and prepared in Goa carpets and tapestries from Persia and Turquia, made of fine silks and wools, beds, writing-cases, parlor-chairs, and other finely gilded furniture, made in Macao, needle-work in colors and in white of chain lace and royal point lace, and other fancy work of great beauty and perfection¹

They carried back to the Moluccas provisions of rice and wine, and crockery and other wares needed there, while to Malacca they took only gold or money, a few special trinkets and curiosities from Spain, and emeralds “The royal duties were not collected from these vessels”¹

Trade with Borneo and other countries Smaller vessels belonging to natives of Borneo also came to Manila, bringing a few slaves, well made palm mats, tibors large and small jars, sago and excellent camphor These articles were bought more by the Filipinos than by the Spaniards The Borneans took back with them wine, rice, cotton cloth, and other wares

Very seldom a few vessels sail to Manila from Sian and Cambojs¹ They carry some benzoin, pepper, ivory, and cotton cloth,

¹Blair and Robertson *The Philippine Islands 1493-1898* Vol XVI, pp 184 185 The Arthur H Clark Company Publishers

rubies and sapphires badly cut and set, a few slaves, rhinoceros horns and the hides hoofs and teeth of this animal, and other goods.

Trade with Mexico and its effects The goods that were imported into Manila by the Oriental traders especially the Chinese, formed the bulk of the commerce between the Philippines and New Spain. The only products of Philippine industry dealt with in the so called galleon trade were gold, cotton cloth, medrinaque, and cakes of white and yellow wax. By buying merchandise from the Oriental traders and sending it to Mexico the Spaniards in the Philippines made fabulous profits and those engaged in this trade amassed great wealth in a short time. Manila became one of the great distributing centers of the East. The capital of our colony was therefore a few years after the conquest an emporium of wealth, which by its commercial activity gained in those years the title of 'Pearl of the Orient'.¹

The prosperity of Manila during the first thirty years after the Spanish settlement has been attributed to the fact that commerce was then unrestricted as to the number of ships, the value of goods that could be imported and exported and the countries with which trade was permitted.

Another effect of this unrestricted trade was the settlement of many Chinese and Japanese and other Orientals in Manila.

In 1603, that is when our colony had only thirty two years of existence, there were already in the capital 25 000 Chinese and the number of Japanese must have been also quite considerable since they formed a colony which occupied the barrios of San Anton and San Miguel, at present inhabited by natives and a great portion of the white population.²

The³ diversity of the peoples, therefore who are seen in Manila and its environs is the greatest in the world, for these include

¹ Manuel de Azcárraga y Palmero *La Libertad de Comercio en las Islas Filipinas* p 41 Madrid 1871

² *Ib d* p 44

³ Blair and Robertson *The Philippines Islands 1493-1898* Vol XXVI p 203 The Arthur H Clark Company Publishers

men from all kingdoms and nations — Espana, Francia, Inglaterra, Italia, Flandes, Alemania, Dinamarca, Suecia, Polonia, Moscovia, people from all the Indias, both eastern and western, and Turks, Greeks, Moros, Persians Tartars, Chinese, Japanese, Africans, and Asiatics. And hardly is there in the four quarters of the world a kingdom, province, or nation which has not representatives here, on account of the voyages that are made hither from all directions — east, west, north and south.

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- 8 Wearing of Chinese Stuffs in Blair and Robertson's *The Philippine Islands 1493-1898* Vol VIII The Arthur H Clark Company Publishers
- 9 VECARRACA Y PALMERO MANUFL DE *La Libertad de Comercio en las Islas Filipinas* Madrid 1871

QUESTIONS AND TOPICS FOR FURTHER STUDY

- 1 What did Chao Ju kua say about Philippine trade relations in the thirteenth century?
- 2 Describe Filipino commerce as observed by the Spaniards when they first arrived here.
- 3 What regulations were imposed by Spain upon domestic trade? (References Nos 3 5)
- 4 What was the relation between these regulations and the economic theories of Spanish and other European countries of the time?

- 5 What was the effect of the arrival of the Spaniards on trade with China?
- 6 What was the attitude of the Spaniards toward the Chinese trade?
- 7 Discuss the nature and extent of Chinese trade during this period
- 8 Study the list of imports from China as given by Morga. Were they luxuries or necessities? (Reference No. 3)
- 9 What was done with the goods brought from China?
- 10 What was the effect of Chinese trade on Filipino industries?
- 11 Describe the trade with other Oriental countries
- 12 Describe the trade between the Philippines and Mexico at this time
- 13 In your opinion were profits from trading the chief motive of Spain in colonization?
- 14 Do the Philippines still import from China many necessities that could be produced here? If so mention some
- 15 What was the effect of Oriental trade on the prosperity of Manila?
- 16 What was the effect of the competition arising from the trade activities of the government officials on the desire of the people to continue trading? Is this competition today one of the reasons for the comparatively small share of Filipinos in present day trade?

CHAPTER VII

GOVERNMENT, RELIGION, EDUCATION, AND SOCIAL LIFE

I GOVERNMENT

Government of the early Filipinos. The government of the Filipinos at the time of the arrival of the Spaniards was described by Juan de Plasencia, one of the Franciscan missionaries that came here in 1577, who distinguished himself by converting the Filipinos, by establishing numerous primary schools, and by his linguistic studies and ethnological researches

The chiefs Plasencia wrote

This people always had chiefs, called by them *datos*, who governed them and were captains in their wars, and whom they obeyed and revered¹ The subject who committed any offense against them, or spoke but a word to their wives and children, was severely punished

These chiefs ruled over but few people, sometimes as many as a hundred houses, sometimes even less than thirty This tribal gathering is called in Tagalo a *barangay* It was inferred that the reason for giving themselves this name arose from the fact that when they came to this land, the head of the *barangay*, which is a boat, thus called a *dato* And so, even at the present day, it is ascertained that this *barangay* in its origin was a family of parents and children relations and slaves There were many of these *barangays* in each town, or, at least, on account of wars, they did not settle far from one another They were not, however, subject to one another, except in friendship and relationship The chiefs, in their various wars, helped one another with their respective *barangays*

In addition to the chiefs, who corresponded to the European feudal knights, there were three classes nobles, commoners,

¹ Blair and Robertson *The Philippine Islands 1493-1898* Vol VII pp 173-174 The Arthur H Clark Company Publishers

and slaves According to Morga, the "principalities and lordships were inherited in the male line and by succession of father and son and their descendants" ¹ If these were lacking then their brothers and collateral relatives succeeded The same right of nobility and chieftainship was preserved for the women as for the men ²

Legislative procedure The Filipino method of enacting laws and the manner of publishing them were described by Loarca It is interesting to note that even among the ancient Filipinos the more powerful chiefs secured the consent of the minor chiefs in approving legislation

They had chiefs in their respective districts, whom the people obeyed, they punished criminals and laid down the laws that must be observed ³ In the villages where they had ten or twelve chiefs one only — the richest of them — was he whom all obeyed They greatly esteem an ancient lineage, which is therefore a great advantage to him who desires to be a lord When laws were to be enacted for governing the commonwealth, the greatest chief whom all the rest obeyed, assembled in his own house all the other chiefs of the village, and when they had come, he made a speech declaring that, to correct the many criminal acts which were being committed, it was necessary that they impose penalties and enact ordinances, so that these evils might be remedied and that all might live in peace This policy was not in vogue among the Pintados because no one of them was willing to recognize another as his superior Then the other chiefs replied that this seemed good to them, and that, since he was the greatest chief of all he might do whatever appeared to him just, and they would approve it Accordingly, that chief made such regulations as he deemed necessary, for these Moros possess the art of writing, which no

¹ Blair and Robertson *The Philippine Islands 1493-1898*, Vol XVI p 119 The Arthur H Clark Company, Publishers

² See Morga's description of Filipino government in George A Malcolm's *The Government of the Philippine Islands*, pp 28-30 The Lawyers Co-operative Publishing Company Rochester NY 1916

³ Blair and Robertson *The Philippine Islands 1493-1898* Vol V, pp 173 177 The Arthur H Clark Company, Publishers

other natives of the islands have. The other chiefs approved that he ordained. Immediately came a public crier whom they call *umalahocan*, who is properly a mayor-domo, or steward, he took a bell and went through the village, announcing in each district the regulations which had been made. The people replied that they would obey. Thus the *umalahocan* went from village to village, through the whole district of this chief, and from that time on he who incurred the penalties of law was taken to the chief, who sentenced him accordingly.

The judicial system. Justice in the Philippines was administered by the chiefs of the *barangays*. "All the other chiefs are also judges" says Loarca, "each in his own district, but when any important case arises the head chief calls all the others together, in order to decide it, and the affair is settled by the vote of all."¹

Trials were public, and these ancient Filipinos sometimes resorted to arbitrators, as shown in Plasencia's report.

Investigations made and sentences passed by the *datu* must take place in the presence of those of his *barangay*.² If any of the litigants felt himself aggrieved, an arbiter was unanimously named from another village or *barangay*, whether he were a *datu* or not, since they had for this purpose some persons known as fair and just men, who were said to give true judgment according to their customs. If the controversy lay between two chiefs when they wished to avoid war, they also convoked judges to act as arbiters, they did the same if the disputants belonged to two different *barangays*. In this ceremony they always had to drink the plaintiff inviting the others.

Dr. Pardo de Tavera says

Certain³ crimes were punished by death such as the seduction of the daughter or wife of a *principal* [leading members of the community], sometimes capital punishment was commuted to

¹ Blair and Robertson *The Philippine Islands 1493-1898* Vol. V p. 177
The Arthur H. Clark Company Publishers

² *Ibid.* Vol. VII p. 179

³ Census of the Philippine Islands 1903 Vol. I p. 325

slavery and in other cases the children of the men condemned to death were made slaves. It was a common thing for criminal offenses to be dismissed after the defendant had paid the plaintiff, or perhaps the dato himself, a certain sum of money called a fine.

Classification of Filipino government. In general, how should we classify the government which existed among the Filipinos at the time of discovery and settlement? According to Malcolm, "the patriarchal form of government was thus prevalent and fundamental, but this had developed as was natural into a near semblance to the aristocratic form, with some monarchical tendencies"¹

In the evolution of government the family is the primary unit from which are developed the more complex forms. But the early Filipinos had larger units than the family, — they had barangays, or clans, and confederations of barangays forming tribal organizations of varying degrees of cohesion.

Father Juan Francisco de San Antonio, O S F, says:

Even the political government was not so simple among all of them . . . not monarchic, for they did not have an absolute king, nor democratic, for those who governed a state or village were not many, but an aristocratic one, for there were many magnates (who are here called either *magunodos* or *datos*), among whom the entire government was divided.²

Government established by the Spaniards. The outstanding change brought about by Spain was the establishment of a strong centralized national government in addition to the small local government units of the Filipinos.

The governor-general. The first governor general was given the title of *adelantado*, and this was conferred on discoverers

¹ George A. Malcolm *The Government of the Philippine Islands*, p. 31. The Lawyers Co-operative Publishing Company, Rochester, N. Y., 1916.

² Blair and Robertson, *The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898*, Vol. XL, p. 347. The Arthur H. Clark Company, Publishers.

“who brought with them sufficient people to occupy and populate regions when they were first discovered or which had up to that time been little known and had remained unoccupied”¹ The king had conferred on Legazpi the right to govern in his name and in accordance with the Laws of the Indies The governor general was given great power and authority “So great is this that it may be affirmed with truth that in all his kingdoms and seigniories, the king does not appoint to an office of greater authority”²

When the Audiencia or supreme court, was established in 1584 the governor general became at the same time its president

The governor alone provides and regulates all that pertains to war and government, with the advice of the auditors of the Audiencia in difficult matters³ He tries in the first instance the criminal cases of the regular soldiers and any appeals from his decisions go to the Audiencia The governor appoints many alcaldes-mayor, corregidores deputies and other magistrates throughout the islands and their provinces for carrying on the government and justice and for military matters These appointments are made before a government chief scrivener appointed by his Majesty, who helps the governor

The Audiencia In 1584 Santiago de Vera arrived in Manila as governor and captain general and also president *ex officio* of the Audiencia, which he established The composition and powers of the Audiencia have been summarized by Dr Pardo de Tavera

This tribunal was not only a court of justice with appellate jurisdiction but also was a superior council to which were referred political and governmental matters of general interest to the colony⁴

¹ Census of the Philippine Islands 1903 Vol I p 363

² Blair and Robertson *The Philippine Islands 1493-1898* Vol XXX p 31
The Arthur H Clark Company Publishers

³ *Ibid* Vol XVI p 188

⁴ Census of the Philippine Islands 1903 Vol I p 363

The president of the audiencia, however, was not bound by the advice or vote of that body, and was given full discretion to take such final action as he should deem expedient for the interests of the government. The other members of the audiencia consisted of four *alcaldes del crimen* (*oidores*), a *fiscal* (attorney), an *alguacil mayor* a *teniente de gran chanciller* (assistant to the grand chancellor), and the necessary subordinate officials.

In the absence of the governor the islands were governed by the audiencia and all matters civil and political were decided by the members of that body. The dean of the tribunal was the presiding officer during the absence of the governor, and was given the title of captain general.¹

The Audiencia was abolished in 1590 during the term of Gomez Perez Dasmariñas (1590-1593), but was reestablished by Governor Francisco Tello de Guzman (1596-1602), according to a royal decree of November 26, 1595. The organization of the Audiencia encouraged jealousy between the governor general on the one hand and the auditors on the other, because of conflicts of power and authority. Referring to the intrigues of the Audiencia Governor Alonso Fajardo (1618-1624) wrote to the king

This is the enemy which most afflicts this commonwealth, and most causes dissensions parties, factions and hatreds between the citizens — each auditor persecuting those citizens who are not wholly of his own faction especially those who extend aid and good will toward the governor against whom, as it seems, they show themselves always in league.² They always make declarations of grievances [against him] because they are not each one given, as used to be and is the custom here whatever they may ask for their sons, relatives, and servants, and they habitually discredit the governor by launching through secret channels false and malicious reports, and afterward securing witnesses of their publicity. They even, as I have written to your Majesty, manage to

¹ See Blair and Robertson *The Philippine Islands 1493-1898* Vol. XVI pp. 144-145 n. Vol. V pp. 274-318. Vol. VI pp. 35-44. The Arthur H. Clark Company Publishers.

² *Ibid.* Vol. XX p. 53.

have religious and preachers publish these reports — to which end, and for his own security, each one of the auditors has formed an alliance with the religious order which receives him best.¹

Provincial government; the *encomiendas* (Fig. 22). Morga tells us that Governor Guido de Lavezaris (1572-1575) divided among the conquerors and settlers all the pacified land in

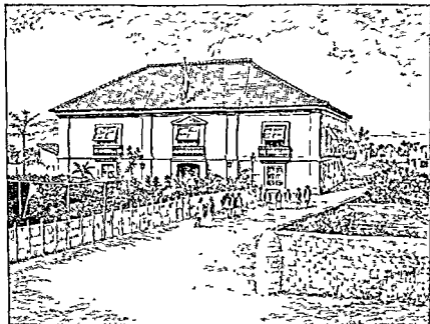


FIG 22. A SPANISH PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT BUILDING, OF LAGUNA PROVINCE

Courtesy of Dr. Pardo de Tavera

Luzon and its surrounding islands. These grants of land are known as *encomiendas*. The *encomienda* has been defined as a right conceded by royal bounty to well-deserving persons in the Indies, to receive and enjoy for themselves the tributes of the natives who should be assigned to them, with

¹ See Blair and Robertson, *The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898*, Vol XVII, p 91, Vol XVIII, p 126; and Vol XX, pp 112-113. The Arthur H Clark Company, Publishers.

a charge of providing for the good of the natives in spiritual and temporal matters and of inhabiting and defending the provinces where these encomiendas should be granted them

Wilhelm Roscher in his *Spanish Colonial System* explains the legal nature of the encomienda according to the Laws of the Indies

According to the constitutional law of the Indies the land and the soil in all colonies were the domain of the king therefore the encomiendas which were granted only to discoverers and other men of conspicuous merit were to be considered not so much as landed estates as public offices¹ [*Comparte Recopilación* vi 8 9 11] The encomendero was appointed and sworn (law of 1532) for the express purpose of giving his Indians military protection (law of 1552) and of promoting politically and religiously their conversion to civilization (laws of 1509 1554 1580) Whoever neglected to do this lost his encomienda (laws of 1536 1551) It is characteristic that the Spaniards so readily combined the functions of discoverers pacificators and founders of settlements as a matter of fact most of the Indian races were led to a civil life in our sense of the word by them In order to prevent extortion no encomendero could own a house in his village or stay there more than one night (law of 1609 1618) Not even his nearest relatives or his slaves could enter the encomienda (law of 1574 1550 and often) He was forbidden to maintain any industrial establishment in the encomienda (law of 1621) or to take into his house any of the inhabitants (law of 1528) That the Indians were free men that they could not be sold by an encomendero was recognized in many laws [*Recopilación* vi 21 1 11] After the legislation of 1542 some of the Indians were the immediate subjects of the king and the rest dependents attached to the encomiendas The former paid three-fourths of their taxes to the treasury and the latter the same proportion to their landlords The right of holding an encomienda was granted regularly for two generations except in New Spain where on account of the very unusual services rendered by the conquerors it was granted for three and even four generations

¹ Wilhelm Roscher *The Spanish Colonial System* Henry Holt and Company 1904

The *alcalde mayor* With the passing of the *encomendero*, the *alcalde mayor* took his place, so that by the time of Morga all the islands were governed from Manila by *alcaldes mayor*, *corregidores*, and lieutenants Appeals from their sentences went to the royal *Audiencia*¹ The *alcaldes mayor* exercised both executive and judicial functions

Local government With reference to local government the policy of Spain was to use the old units, the *barangays*, as the basic structure for the new government Morga wrote

The chiefs, who formerly held the other natives in subjection, now have no power over them in the tyrannical manner of former days² This was not the least benefit received by these natives in having been freed from such servitude However, it is true that matters touching the slavery of former days have remained on the same footing as before The king our sovereign has ordered by his decrees that the honors of the chiefs be preserved to them as such, and that the other natives recognize them and assist them with certain of the labors that they used to give when pagans This is done with the lords and possessors of *barangays*, and those belonging to such and such a *barangay* are under that chief's control When he harvests his rice, they go one day to help him, and the same if he builds a house, or rebuilds one This chief lord of a *barangay* collects tribute from his adherents and takes charge of these collections, to pay them to the *encomendero*

Besides the above, each village has a governor who is elected He and his constables who are called *vilangos* comprise the usual magistracy among the natives The governor hears civil suits where a moderate sum is involved, in appeal, the case goes to the *corregidor* or *alcalde mayor* of the province These governors are elected annually by the votes of all the married natives of such and such a village The governor of Manila confirms the election and gives the title of governor to the one elected, and orders him to

¹ See George A. Malcolm *The Government of the Philippine Islands* p. 65 The Lawyers Co-operative Publishing Company Rochester N. Y. 1916

² Blair and Robertson *The Philippine Islands 1493-1898* Vol. XVI pp. 155-157 The Arthur H. Clark Company Publishers

take the residence of the outgoing governor. This governor, in addition to the *vilungos* and scrivener (before whom he makes his acts in writing, in the language of the natives of that province), holds also the chiefs — lords of *barangays*, and those who are not so — under his rule and government, and, for any special service, such as collections of tributes and assignments of personal services, as his *datos* and *mandones*. They do not allow the chiefs to oppress the *timaguas* or slaves under their control.

Caciquism, or dato rule What is known today as caciquism ("boss rule" in the United States) may be regarded as a survival of the recognition granted by the Spaniards to the Filipino chiefs who were the leaders of their people at the time of the arrival of the Spaniards. Such is the conclusion advanced by LeRoy, who recognized elements of democracy also in the ancient Filipino society.

Caciquism was a prime feature of the village life of the Filipinos during the entire three hundred odd years of Spanish control, indeed, one may not unfairly say that the Spanish structure of local government was founded upon it, and fostered not only its continuance, but its growth in new directions¹. But one may not blame the Spaniards for the existence of caciquism, it was a native institution before they came, and they merely accepted it, indeed, they lessened it in some ways beneficial to the people. The word *cacique* (old Spanish spelling, *cazique*) was the name for a chieftain or local magnate in Hayti when the Spaniards came there, and they carried the word elsewhere to describe petty local chieftains of the undeveloped communities in South and Central America and in the Orient. The word really has, therefore, a sort of tribal signification, and may well be taken as the equivalent of the *dato* among the Moros of the Philippines to day.

The Spaniards did not build deliberately upon this social organization and rule through the chieftains, as the English now do in the Malay Peninsula and elsewhere. Though they often recognised at the outset the prestige of the chieftains themselves, and sought to

¹ James A. LeRoy, *Philippine Life in Town and Country*, pp. 173-176. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York and London, 1905.

exercise control of the people through the aristocrats of the communities, they really crushed the tribal organisations as rapidly as possible. Indeed, the introduction of Christianity, with its rather *democratic tendencies in various ways*, helped toward this end. Still, the families of power and prestige were bound to hold their place at the top, in some degree at least, in any social organisation. They gradually fell into place in the Spanish scheme as a new aristocracy, holding the petty offices of a civil character, and serving the missionaries, too, as chief aids in mustering their people about the church, gathering them in the village centres, or in the *barrios* "under the bells." They were the local tax-gatherers, the local administrators of justice, and the go-betweens for their people with the religious and civil authorities of the Spanish administration. The old *caciquism*, in other words, simply readjusted itself to conditions and, once settled in place, stayed there more firmly than it had in the old days of a less complex social organisation, when the whole was not held together as a unit by ecclesiastical domination, and the chance for individual talent to rise was very likely greater. It is hard to recognise any but the cruder elements of democracy in the primitive Filipino society; but almost certain there was more of democracy in its comparatively loose organisation (maintained, moreover, by the Filipinos themselves, of and for themselves) than in the hard and fast society into which they speedily crystallised under Spain's inelastic ecclesiastical domination.

Spanish laws. Together with the necessary organization, which is regarded as the mechanism of government, there was likewise brought to the Philippines the great system of law which was developed in Spain from the Roman Law. In addition to royal orders and decrees especially applicable to this country, mention should be made of laws which at least had supplementary force here: *Las Siete Partidas*, a compilation of previous Spanish laws; *Las Leyes de Toro*, chiefly concerned with wills and succession; *Leyes de las Indias*, a system of colonial laws, deserving the greatest praise for wisdom and humanity; and *La Novísima Recopilación*, dealing with

all branches of law. Thus the Filipinos came in contact with the Roman Law, one of the two great systems of law in the world. Their contact with the second great system, the English Common Law, was reserved for a much later period.

Significance of Spanish policy In attempting to superimpose her systems of government and of laws on ancient Filipino polity, Spain pursued a more ambitious colonial policy than did any other European colonizing nation. In the words of LeRoy

Judging Spain by modern standards of colonisation, we might praise her if she had taken over simply the social structure she found and builded upon it her government, modifying and destroying only where its tendencies were anti progressive, working through the already constituted sources of authority over the people to introduce peace, better methods of cultivating the soil and of living¹. When Spain chose instead to reject the old social structure, because it was felt to be anti Christian, to introduce the people of the Philippines not only to the religion of Europe but also, in some degree, to the customs and laws of Europe, she adopted a programme which is much more ambitious, which strikes more deeply into the essentials of a subjected people's life, than the policy which England is to day pursuing, for instance, in the Malay Peninsula or has ever deliberately and consistently pursued in any of the British possessions. "Colonial experts" may differ as to the results of such a policy, may feel sure that the ends for which a colonising power should work, at least deliberately and consciously, should be material only. But we must recognise that Spain, inspired, to be sure, partly by material ambitions, but still more by spiritual aims, did accomplish in the Philippine Islands in the first part of her domination what no other European nation has ever done in the Orient, and did accomplish it without crushing the people under her heel.

¹James A. LeRoy, *Philippine Life in Town and Country* pp 176-177
G. P. Putnam's Sons New York and London, 1905

II RELIGION

Religion of early Filipinos — temples Father Juan de Plasencia, who made a special study of the customs of the Filipinos, gives a careful account of their religious customs. Their places of worship were temporary structures adjoining the chief's house.

In all the villages, or in other parts of the Filipinas Islands, there are no temples consecrated to the performing of sacrifices, the adoration of their idols, or the general practice of idolatry. It is true that they have the name *simbahan*, which means a temple or place of adoration, but this is because, formerly, when they wished to celebrate a festival, they celebrated it in the large house of a chief. There they constructed, for the purpose of sheltering the assembled people, a temporary shed on each side of the house, with a roof, called *sibi*, to protect the people from the wet when it rained. They so constructed the house that it might contain many people — dividing it, after the fashion of ships, into three compartments. On the posts of the house they set small lamps, called *sorihule*, in the center of the house they placed one large lamp, adorned with leaves of the white palm, wrought into many designs. They also brought together many drums, large and small, which they beat successively while the feast lasted, which was usually four days. During this time the whole barangay, or family, united and joined in the worship which they call *nagaanitos*. The house, for the above mentioned period of time, was called a temple.

Gods and idols Their gods and idols, Father Plasencia says, were many, varying in importance.

Among their many idols there was one called *Badhala*, whom they especially worshiped. The title seems to signify 'all powerful,' or 'maker of all things.' They also worshiped the sun, which, on account of its beauty, is almost universally respected and honored by heathens. They worshiped, too, the moon, especially

¹ Blair and Robertson *The Philippine Islands 1493-1898* Vol VII pp 185-189 The Arthur H. Clark Company Publishers

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when it was new, at which time they held great rejoicings, adoring it and bidding it welcome. Some of them also adored the stars although they did not know them by their names, as the Spaniards and other nations know the planets — with the one exception of the morning star, which they called *Tala*. They possessed many idols called *lic ha* which were images with different shapes, and at times they worshiped any little trifle, in which they adored, as did the Romans, some particular dead man who was brave in war and endowed with special faculties, to whom they commended themselves for protection in their tribulations. They had another idol called *Dian masalanta*, who was the patron of lovers and of generations. The idols called *Lacapati* and *Idianale* were the patrons of the cultivated lands and of husbandry. They paid reverence to water lizards called by them *buaya*, or crocodiles, from fear of being harmed by them. They were even in the habit of offering these animals a portion of what they carried in their boats by throwing it into the water, or placing it upon the bank.

Augures and divination The ancient Filipinos believed in augures and divination.

For example, if they left their house and met on the way a serpent or rat, or a bird called *Tigmamanugin* which was singing in the tree, or if they chanced upon anyone who sneezed, they returned at once to their house, considering the incident as an augury that some evil might befall them if they should continue their journey — especially when the above mentioned bird sang.¹ This song had two different forms. In the one case it was considered as an evil omen, in the other, as a good omen, and then they continued their journey. They also practiced divination, to see whether weapons, such as a dagger or knife, were to be useful and lucky for their possessor whenever occasion should offer.

Religious sacrifices Like many primitive peoples, the early Filipinos believed in religious sacrifices.

Their manner of offering sacrifice was to proclaim a feast, and offer to the devil what they had to eat.¹ This was done in front of

¹ Blair and Robertson *The Philippine Islands 1493-1898* Vol VII pp 189-191. The Arthur H. Clark Company, Publishers.

the idol, which they anoint with fragrant perfumes, such as musk and civet, or gum of the storax tree and other odoriferous woods and praise it in poetic songs sung by the officiating priest, male or female, who is called *catolonan*. The participants made responses to the song, beseeching the idol to favor them with those things of which they were in need, and generally, by offering repeated healths, they all became intoxicated. In some of their idolatries they were accustomed to place a good piece of cloth, doubled, over the idol, and over the cloth a chain or large gold ring, thus worshipping the devil without having sight of him. The devil was sometimes liable to enter into the body of the *catolonan*, and, assuming her shape and appearance, filled her with so great arrogance — he being the cause of it — that she seemed to shoot flames from her eyes, her hair stood on end, a fearful sight to those beholding, and she uttered words of arrogance and superiority. In some districts, especially in the mountains, when in those idolatries the devil incarnated himself and took on the form of his minister, the latter had to be tied to a tree by his companions, to prevent the devil in his infernal fury from destroying him. This, however, happened but rarely. The objects of sacrifice were goats, fowls, and swine, which were flayed, decapitated, and laid before the idol. They performed another ceremony by cooking a jar of rice until the water was evaporated, after which they broke the jar, and the rice was left as an intact mass which was set before the idol, and all about it, at intervals, were placed a few *buyos* — which is a small fruit wrapped in a leaf with some lime, a food generally eaten in these regions — as well as fried food and fruits. All the above mentioned articles were eaten by the guests at the feast, the heads [of the animals] after being "offered," as they expressed it, were cooked and eaten also.

In addition to whatever personal reasons there might be, this sacrifice and adoration were for

the¹ recovery of a sick person, the prosperous voyage of those embarking on the sea, a good harvest in the sowed lands, a pro

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pious result in wars, a successful delivery in childbirth, and a happy outcome in married life. If this took place among people of rank, the festivities lasted thirty days.

There were many classes of priests and priestesses among the Filipinos, Plasencia gives the number as at least twelve.¹

The conversion of the Filipinos to Christianity — the coming of the missionaries. The rapid conversion of the Filipinos to Christianity may be considered as one of the most interesting phenomena in the history of the Philippines. "From the earliest beginning of the conquest and pacification of the Filipinas Islands" says Morga "the preaching of the holy gospel therein and the conversion of the natives to our holy Catholic faith were undertaken." The Augustinians who came with Legazpi and those who came later were the first to do this work. Then came the Franciscans in 1577, followed by the Jesuits in 1581, and the Dominicans in 1587, and lastly the Recollects in 1606.

The distribution of these religious orders among the provinces is given by Morga.

The Order of St. Augustine has many missions in the islands of Pintados and has established and occupied monasteries and various *visitas*.² In the island of Luzon, they have those of the province of Ylocos, some in Pangasinan, and all those of La Pampanga — a large number of monasteries, while in the province of Manila and its vicinity they have others, which are flourishing.

The Order of St. Dominic has the missions of the province of Cagayan, and others in the province of Pangasinan, where are many monasteries and *visitas*. They also administer others about the city.

The Order of St. Francis has some missions and monasteries about Manila, all the province of Camarines and the coast opposite, and La Laguna de Bay. These include many missions.

¹ See Blair and Robertson *The Philippine Islands 1493-1898* Vol VII, pp 192-194 also Vol XII pp 262-271. The Arthur H. Clark Company, Publishers.

² *Ibid* Vol XVI pp 150-151

memorial to the king that, with the exception of the Zamboales and those in the mining districts of northern Luzon, all were converted¹ According to all the early writers the people accepted with enthusiasm the ceremonies of the new religion Writing of Manila in 1596 Chirino gives a picture of the great faith and devotion of the Filipinos in their religious life as modified by the recent change

At this time the Indians were very numerous, both within the city of Manila (where there are more than six thousand, scattered through the houses of the Spanish inhabitants) and in all the outlying districts² These people repair to our church for confession not only in Lent but on all other days of the year, consequently, there were not fathers enough acquainted with their language to care for them spiritually from morning to evening I know of some who had waited for more than ten or even twelve days without being able for the press of the people to reach the feet of the confessor Others remained a whole day in the church, waiting for their turn This gives evidence of the ardor and perseverance with which they attended to the welfare of their souls On Sundays and the afternoons of feast days when the sermons were preached in their own language, the church was crowded — above, below, in the choir and galleries all which, although very spacious, were filled and besides there were many of those people outside the doors (which are five in number)

Effect of Christianity on the people • How did the Christian religion affect the everyday life of the people? Christian ideas of right and wrong were inculcated by the religious teachers and these new ideas were bound to influence the daily conduct of the people The position of woman was elevated, slaveholding was discouraged, usury attacked, intemperance lessened A typical picture of the social struggle in which the missionaries took a leading part is given by Aduarte

¹ See Blair and Robertson *The Philippine Islands 1493-1898* Vol. XIX pp. 187-97 (see especially p. 277) The Arthur H. Clark Company Publishers

² *Ibid.* Vol. XII pp. 249-250

For lack of teaching they had remained in their idolatries as before, without giving up usury, oppression, false swearing, and the feuds in which they had been brought up to have perpetual enmities¹ But soon after these religious learned their language, and began to give them instruction, the change which was to be seen in them was extraordinary, for the root of all these vices was plucked up, and that so completely that they themselves aided in their own reformation — for they gave the ministers information in regard to sins and idolatries by showing them who they were that committed them, and where they were committed Thus it was easy to find some little idol that they kept hidden, which were handed over to the Christian boys to drag about through the whole village, and at last were burned By this means and by the punishment of a few old women who acted as priestesses, and who were called catalonans, the idolatry of the whole region was brought to an end

In the matters of restriction of usury, and maltreatment of slaves, and other oppressions there was some difficulty, for, as the evil had been converted into the flesh and blood of the wrongful holders of the property, it was the same as to strip off their flesh and drain their blood to talk about their returning that which they unjustly held Still so great was the power that the teaching of the religious had over them, and so deep root had it taken in their hearts, that they broke through everything, and by the aid of the Lord brought themselves to the point Thus at the beginning of their Christian life they did something which would hardly have been done by those grown old in Christianity, who had sucked it in with their mother's milk They gave liberty to many slaves deprived thereof unjustly, they restored the usury they had taken, and everything that they unjustly held And thus they did with so good a grace that it was enough for the father to propose it, after having verified the case. There was one man who gave up everything that he had, because he found that it was all unjustly held, and who did this without anything more having been done to influence him than the mere speaking of the word

¹ Blair and Robertson *The Philippine Islands 1493-1898*, Vol. XXX, pp 174 176 The Arthur H Clark Company Publishers

Such a marvel as this God alone can work, who knows how to give so great an efficacy to such gentle means as have been described. Though in some cases no owners were known, to whom restitution could be made they did not fail to make restitution on that account, but, collecting all the debts of this kind, they made a common deposit of them for common needs, and for the poor. There were many who could not be found to receive the satisfaction made in this way, and the application of the amount was made to the common necessity.

The great force that brought about this result was the obvious disinterestedness of the religious who did not desire to apply any thing to the benefit of the churches, on the ground that they were of common importance but regarded these as being their special charge so that in this way they might assure the Indians that in all this there was no other purpose than their own good and might avoid every occasion for their imagining the contrary. That district reached this happy point in less than one year from the time when these ministers took charge of it, though it had been in the wretched state which we have described for the lack of some one systematically and regularly to care for the souls of the inhabitants.

Chirino, in his "Relation" gives the following account of the progress of the Jesuit missions up to the year 1602. The number baptized increased everywhere. The missionaries uprooted idolatry in many places, and checked its practice in others, in all places they introduced flagellation.¹ Religious confraternities were formed among the new converts, and schools were opened. In time of pestilence the missionaries ministered to the sick and the dying, thus gaining the good will of all classes. Usury, unjust enslavement and polygamy were lessened by their efforts.

Of particular interest even to our present day social workers is the missionaries method of eradicating alcoholic intem-

¹ See Blair and Robertson *The Philippine Islands 1493-1898*, Vol. XVII pp. 55, 56, 66-67, 70-71. Vol. XII p. 249. Vol. XIII pp. 45, 46, 125, 126. Vol. XI pp. 196-197, 202, 203. The Arthur H. Clark Company, Publishers.

perance — then the worst vice of the people. According to Aduarte, the means used was social ostracism of the guilty party and pitiless publicity in the church. He wrote

Only in the case of the vice of drunkenness was it impossible to find a remedy that would suffice for the great excesses produced by it, for although all the Indians are very faulty in this particular, those of this region surpassed those of the rest of the country, and were famous for this vice among their neighbors.¹ It seems impossible to remedy the fault, because it was the hereditary vice of their fathers and their grandfathers before them, and they had, as it were, grown into it by continual use. Still God revealed to the father vicar a remedy for this, so gentle that without blood or violence it brought them to reason, and so efficaciously that in a short time it achieved what was intended. This was to give orders under light penalties, that any man who became intoxicated was not to be received in any house, and was not to be visited in his own house, that no one was to communicate to him or talk to him, or have any dealings with him.

He caused to be proclaimed in church those who were most guilty of this vice, commanding all others to avoid them, as has been said, regarding them as enemies of God and despisers of His doctrine, and of the teaching of the fathers, and this way of depriving them of intercourse with the rest was sufficient to make them ashamed of themselves. The result was that they renounced their custom and evil habit, and strove so to make themselves fit for the sacrament that, in order to avoid drunkenness, they gave up wine as an ordinary beverage. If they drank it occasionally, either because of need or desire, they drank by rule and measure. So far did they depart from their old excess that they not only blotted out their former evil reputation, but obtained for themselves a good one — which up to today they maintain, to the great joy of their ministers. The same thing is true of the other vices that they had, not only when they were heathen, but even after they were baptized, on account of the bad system of which we have given an account.

¹ Blair and Robertson *The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898* Vol XXX pp 172 174 The Arthur H Clark Company Publishers

The spirit of the early missionaries That the missionary workers of this period were imbued with a deep spirit of self sacrifice is the testimony of all writers Writing of the early Dominicans, Aduarte says that "the new convent began to be very much frequented, and to be so well assisted by alms that for many years there was no occasion to cook food, because there were many who came to its assistance with alms some one day some another"¹ As the number of the religious increased, however, it became necessary to do the cooking in the convent,

but the devotion of the city and the contribution of alms has always continued and still continues¹ Thus the convent has been and is maintained solely by them, having been unwilling always to accept an endowment though many have been offered to it Thus without endowment or possessions they get what they need, with greater certainty than if they had these For, however certain such things may be imagined to be, they may fail, as many others have failed but the word of God, in whom the fathers trust, cannot fail This has been so clearly observed that when our lord the king commanded that this convent, like the others in the city, should receive as a contribution to its support four hundred pesos a year and four hundred fanegas of rice (which takes the place of wheat in this country), they for a long time declined to collect it, since it seemed to them that it was in the nature of an endowment, as being some thing sure and certain, yet afterward, when they saw that it was pure charity, and that he who gave it could take it away when he chose, they accepted it — on condition, however, that if the ministers of the king take it from us even unjustly, we shall not ask for it as a right At this time this has been done, the allowance having been taken away, but the Lord in return has given much more than that

Such also is the testimony of a modern student of Spanish colonial policy, Professor E G Bourne

¹ Blair and Robertson *The Philippine Islands 1493-1898* Vol XXX pp 138-139 The Arthur H Clark Company, Publishers

That it was the spirit of kindness, Christian love, and brotherly helpfulness of the missionaries that effected the real conquest of the islands is abundantly testified by qualified observers of various nationalities and periods but the most convincing demonstration is the ridiculously small military force that was required to support the prestige of the Catholic king¹ The standing army organized in 1590 for the defense of the country numbered four hundred men²

Charitable institutions—hospitals and orphanages Christianity brought with it to the Philippines many charitable institutions, — hospitals and orphanages of various kinds The first hospital was established by Governor Francisco de Sande (1575-1580)

As the soldiers suffer so many hardships they become sick, and although many even die, they are all so poor that they cannot leave anything³ They have no medicines and are always ready to beg them as they have no other recourse When I came, I had a hospital built, but the corsair burned it This served as a lodging house for poor people, and, for this purpose I brought a man from Nueva Espana to attend the sick

For the expenses of his hospital he assigned the tributes of 'about one thousand Indians''

At the time of Morga there were three hospitals, two for Spaniards and the other for Filipinos

In another part is the royal hospital for Spaniards with its physicians, apothecary, surgeons, managers, and servants⁴ It and its church are built of stone, and it has its sick rooms and the bed service. In it all the Spaniards are treated It is usually quite full, it is under the royal patronage His Majesty provides the most necessary things for it Three discalced religious of St Francis act there as superintendents and they prove very advantageous for the corporal and spiritual relief of the sick It was burned in the conflagration of the former year six hundred and three and is now being rebuilt

¹ Blair and Robertson *The Philippine Islands 1493-1898* Vol I p 41
The Arthur H Clark Company Publishers

² *Ibid* Vol IV p 78

³ See *ibid* Vol XXIII pp 34-35

⁴ *Ibid* Vol XVI pp 142-143

There is another charitable hospital in charge of the Confraternity of that name. It was founded in the city of Manila by the Confraternity of La Misericordia of Lisboa, and by the other confraternities of India. It has apostolic bulls for works of charity, such as burying the dead, supporting the modest poor, marrying orphans, and relieving many necessities. There the slaves of the city are treated, and lodgings are likewise provided for poor women.

The hospital for Filipinos was the present San Juan de Dios.

Next to the monastery of St. Francis is located the hospital for natives, which is under royal patronage¹. It was founded with alms by a holy lay brother of St. Francis, one Fray Joan Clemente. A great many natives suffering from all diseases, are treated there with great care and attention. It has a good edifice and workrooms built of stone. The discalced religious of St. Francis manage it, and three priests and four lay brothers, of exemplary life, live there. These are the physicians, surgeons, and apothecaries of the hospital, and are so skilful and useful that they cause many marvelous cures, both in medicine and in surgery.

In a memorial presented in 1618 we learn that other hospitals had been established in the provinces. Says an official report:

The hospitals which your Majesty has in the Filipinas Islands, the royal hospital where the soldiers are treated, another in Cavite where the sailors are treated, another for the Indian natives [conducted by] the Franciscan friars, another for Sangleyes, by the Dominican friars, another, by La Misericordia, for the mulattoes, another at the hot springs [Los Banos], by the Franciscan friars, another in Cagayan, another in Cebu, another in Maluco, and another for the convalescents, by the friars who are coming back from the Indies².

The orphanages of San Andrés and Santa Potenciana, in Manila, were two other charity institutions, where

¹ Blair and Robertson *The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898* Vol. XVI p. 143
The Arthur H. Clark Company, Publishers.

² *Ibid.* Vol. XVIII pp. 113, 114.

shelter is given to needy women and girls of the city¹ Some of the girls leave the house to be married while others remain there permanently It has its own house for work, and its choir His Majesty assists them with a portion of their maintenance, the rest is provided by their own industry and property They have their own steward and their priest who administers the sacraments to them

In provisions for the sick and helpless, Manila at the opening of the seventeenth century was far in advance of any city in the English colonies for more than a century and a half to come²

Such is the conclusion arrived at by an American scholar after a comparative study of Spanish and English colonies

III PUBLIC WORKS

Construction of stone houses From the point of view of public works (Figs 23 and 26) the first two decades after the settlement of Manila by Legazpi may also be regarded as remarkable When Governor Santiago de Vera (1584-1590) came he found Manila in "deep affliction and pressing need because all the houses and property had been destroyed by fire not even the fortifications escaping"³ (referring to the first great fire of 1583) Governor Vera therefore decided to allow the building of stone houses only He wrote the king

According to the promptness exercised by the citizens I trust, God helping, that, in ten years the city will be built entirely of stone, for from two stone houses here the number has increased to twenty large houses, besides a monastery and a considerable number of buildings, very substantial and well planned, are at present in the course of construction³

¹ Blair and Robertson *The Philippine Islands 1493-1898* Vol XVI p 142
The Arthur H Clark Company Publishers

² *Ibid* Vol I p 43

³ *Ibid* Vol VI pp 298-299

Fortifications. Vera, realizing also the necessity of being prepared, began the works on the fortification. He wrote

Neither on the seacoast nor in any other part was there any defense¹ On this account, in view of our danger, I resolved to set about fortifying the city, although the poverty of the city and of your royal treasury could not assist me I have constructed a stone tower on the said beach, near the city, and lower down,

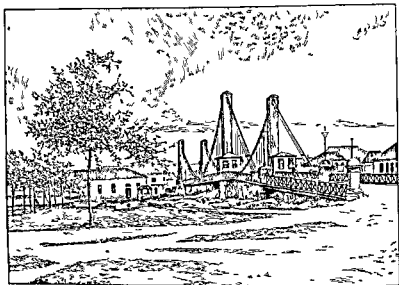


FIG 23 THE COLGANTE SUSPENSION BRIDGE, MANILA

where it seemed more necessary, I am constructing a very strong and handsome fort, the plan of which accompanies this letter.

Father Antonio Sedeño as architect. In these early construction works Father Antonio Sedeño, one of the first Jesuits to arrive, proved of great service Chirino gives an account of this father's ability as an architect :

Father² Antonio Sedeño, in addition to his ordinary occupation of preaching — in which he was so effective that he could move stones

¹ Blair and Robertson, *The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898*, Vol VI, p 299
The Arthur H Clark Company, Publishers ² *Ibid* Vol XII, pp 198-199-

by his eloquence — in his capacity as superior attended to the temporal affairs of the residence and to the construction of buildings. He was all the more busy in this latter occupation, from the scarcity, at that time, of architects and builders in Manila; for there were none at all. First he taught this art to the Indians, and then to the Chinese; and he inspired the bishop to build the first stone house ever erected in Manila. Encouraged by this example, they

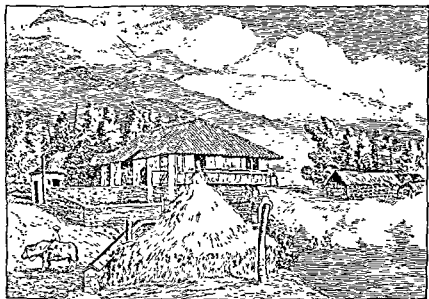


FIG. 24. OLD TYPE OF PHILIPPINE DWELLING HOUSE

continued to build others, until finally the city reached its present greatness. At this time it is one of the most beautiful and delightful cities in the *Indias*. Formerly the houses [Fig. 24], though large and roomy, were all constructed of wood or cane. In short the good father was the architect of the city, and the people caused him no little labor in inspecting, planning, and arranging its edifices; he aided them out of pure charity and zeal for the advancement of the holy Church, which he hoped would be very great in those regions. The first fort constructed in Manila for the defense of the city was erected under his direction, and with his plans, supervision, and aid, which cost him no little effort. This is the fortress

that they call Guia because it is situated at the principal gate of the city which leads out to the chapel of Nuestra Senora de Guia that stands in front of our house I once accompanied him when he went to furnish the plans for a stairway in one of the principal houses and he showed so much patience and indulgence toward

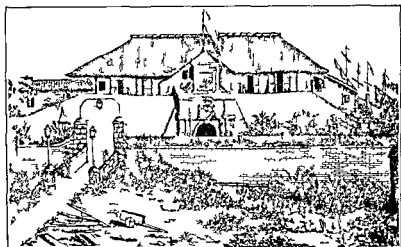


FIG 25 FORT SANTIAGO MANILA

Courtesy of Dr Pardo de Tavera

the errors which the Indians had committed in his absence that he did not lose his temper in either word or look but merely had what was wrong taken apart and done over again¹

The work of Governor Perez Dasmariñas The term of Governor Gomez Perez Dasmariñas (1590-1593) was characterized by activity in public works What Perez Dasmariñas did along this line and how he financed the works is told by Argensola

The new governor found Manila open to attack without the form of a city and without any money with which to improve it²

See Blair and Robertson *The Philippine Islands 1493-1898* Vol XII pp 229-230 The Arthur H Clark Company Publishers

² *Ibid* Vol XVI pp 245-246

More than two hundred thousand pesos were needed for it. However, by his plans and schemes, he completed the work without public or private loss. He established a monopoly of playing cards, imposed fines for excessive play, punished illicit combinations and frauds among the provision dealers and the shops of that class from all of which resulted the walls of Manila, which measured twelve thousand eight hundred and forty nine geometric feet [*t e*, Spanish feet], each foot being one *tercia*. To this he added his own careful oversight, and the assistance of the inhabitants, who aided willingly because of the request and example of their chief. The city had but one fort, and that badly constructed. He built another at the entrance to the river, to which he gave the name of Santiago [Fig 25], and enclosed the old one. He finished the cathedral, and, from the foundation, the church of Santa Potenciana, patroness of the island, as a shelter for women. Then he started the casting of cannon, and brought good artisans, who furnished the city with large and small artillery. He built galleys for the trade and commerce of merchandise — the subsistence of those lands.

IV EDUCATION — FILIPINO AND SPANISH

Filipinos' system of writing. The pre Spanish Filipinos must have had a regular system of education, for Father Chirino, who was one of the first to make a study of Filipino writing, says

All these islanders are much given to reading and writing, and there is hardly a man, and much less a woman, who does not read and write in the letters used in the island of Manila — which are entirely different from those of China, Japon, and India ¹

By means of these characters they easily make themselves understood and convey their ideas marvelously, he who reads supplying, with much skill and facility, the consonants which are lacking. From us they have adopted the habit of writing from left to right. Formerly they wrote from the top to the bottom, placing the first

¹ Blair and Robertson *The Philippine Islands 1493-1898* Vol XII, pp 242-243 The Arthur H Clark Company Publishers

line on the left, and continuing the rest at the right, contrary to the custom of the Chinese and Japanese — who, although they write from top to bottom, begin from the right and continue the page to the left

They used to write on reeds and palm leaves, using as a pen an iron point now they write their own letters, as well as ours, with a sharpened quill, and as we do, on paper

To the same effect is the testimony of Morga

The natives throughout the islands can write excellently with certain characters almost like the Greek or Arabic¹ These characters are fifteen in all Three are vowels, which are used as are our five The consonants number twelve, and each and all of them combine with certain dots or commas, and so signify whatever one wishes to write as fluently and easily as is done with our Spanish alphabet The method of writing was on bamboo but is now on paper commencing the lines at the right and running to left, in the Arabic fashion Almost all the natives both men and women write in this language There are very few who do not write it excellently and correctly

As to the question whether there was a national Filipino system of writing or alphabets for each province or region Justice Villamor, after making a thorough study of all the works on the ancient Filipino writing comes to the conclusion that there was one national alphabet, and that was the Tagalog

As far as our present knowledge goes, we may draw the conclusion with sufficient ground, that neither the Visayans nor the Ilocanos had any alphabet other than that of the Tagalogs, and that the Tagalog alphabet was the one most generally used in the Islands, according to Father Lopez, and was probably the only one used by all the Filipinos with slight changes of course, due to the ability and style of each individual writer² Even the so called Tagbanua alphabet, in the essential elements of the structure of its characters, hardly differs from those of the Tagalog alphabet

¹ Blair and Robertson *The Philippine Islands 1493 1898* Vol XVI pp 116-117 The Arthur H Clark Company, Publishers

² Ignacio Villamor *Ancient Filipino Writing* p 28 Manila 1922

How was this ancient Filipino writing affected by the teaching of the Spanish system? The Filipinos learned the new method of writing and, because of the Spanish policy of destroying everything that might disturb the spread of Christianity, after some years forgot their own, and so this important feature of ancient culture was lost. Chirino writes with pride

They have learned our language and its pronunciation and write it even better than we do, for they are so clever that they learn anything with the greatest ease¹. I have had letters written by themselves in very handsome and fluent style. In Tigbauan I had in my school a very young boy who, using as a model letters written to me in a very good handwriting, learned in three months to write even better than I, and he copied for me important documents faithfully, exactly, and without errors.

Father Colin states that Filipinos were used as clerks in many offices, some became officials, and others were printers in the two printing houses in Manila.

The Filipinos easily accustom themselves to the Spanish letters and method of writing². They are greatly benefited thereby, for many of them write now just like us, because of their cleverness and quickness in imitating any letter or design and in the doing of anything with the hands. There are some of them who commonly serve as clerks in the public accountancies and secretaryships of the kingdom. We have known some so capable that they have deserved to become officials in those posts and perhaps to supply those offices *ad interim*. They also are a great help to students in making clean copies of their rough drafts not only in Romance but also in Latin for there are already some of them who have learned that language. Finally, they are the printers in the two printing houses in this city of Manila, and they are entirely competent in that work, in which their skill and ability are very evident.

¹ Blair and Robertson *The Philippine Islands 1493-1898* Vol. XII pp. 243-244. The Arthur H. Clark Company Publishers.

² *Ibid* Vol. XL p. 52.

All of the stone buildings were erected, under the direction of members of the religious orders, by Indian workmen, who also showed remarkable ability as naval constructors, on which lines since the first days of the conquest the Spaniards had been diligently employed

V SOCIAL LIFE

Manners and customs of early Filipinos Father Chirino tells us that the early Filipinos

have their politeness and good breeding, especially the Tagalos, who are very civil and courteous in word and action¹

Upon meeting one another, they practice our custom of uncovering the head — not that they used hats, caps, or bonnets, but they wore a piece of cloth like a towel, some three or four palmos long, which they wound around the head in becoming fashion, like the ancient crowns or diadems. This they removed, as they now do the hat [*sombrero*] — which they have adopted, in imitation of us, abandoning the *potong*, as they called the towel or diadem which they formerly wore. As among them it is not courtesy to remain standing before a person whom they respect, they seat themselves upon the ground or rather on their heel bones. Seated in this way, with head uncovered and the *potong* thrown like a towel over the left shoulder, they talk with their superiors. The mode of salutation upon entering or meeting any one is as follows. They draw the body together and make a low reverence, raising one or both hands to the face, and placing them upon the cheeks, they next sit down waiting for the question that may be put to them, for it is considered bad manners to speak before one is spoken to. Their greatest courtesy is in their form of address, for they never speak to one another in the second person, whether singular or plural, but solemnize and third person, saying for example — "Does the lord, many other feast for this or that?" There are many examples in the *tramas* and comedies in Holy Scripture or sacred language, and

even when they are quite equals, and, too, among the middle class — to use, after every important word, nothing but "my Lord," or "my Lady"; as, "My Lord, as I was coming up the river, I saw, my Lord," etc. This term and pronoun are used as agreeable and even affectionate, even in the languages of much greater importance, as Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, which are the three most venerable tongues. In polite and affectionate intercourse they are very extravagant, addressing letters to each other in terms of elaborate and delicate expressions of affection, and neat turns of thought.¹

We have an interesting account of Filipino customs from Morga :

Both men and women, especially the chiefs, walk slowly and sedately when upon their visits, and when going through the streets and to the temples; and are accompanied by many slaves both male and female, with parasols of silk which they carry to protect them from the sun and rain.² The women walk ahead and their female servants and slaves follow them; behind these walk their husbands, father, or brothers, with their man-servants and slaves

Respect for parents. Respect for parents and elders was one of the characteristics of the early Filipinos. Writing of their laws and customs, Father Colin says :

One was the respect of parents and elders, carried to so great a degree that not even the name of one's father could pass the lips, in the same as the Hebrews [regarded] the name of God.³ The individuals, even the children, must follow the general [custom].⁴

Neatness. That the early Filipinos were neat and clean is the testimony of early authors. Morga reported :

Men and women, and especially the chief people, are very clean and neat in their persons and clothings, and of pleasing address and grace.⁵ They dress their hair carefully, and regard it as being

¹ See Blair and Robertson, *The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898*, Vol. XL, pp. 56-57, 323-324. The Arthur H. Clark Company, Publishers.

² *Ibid.* Vol. XVI, p. 79.

⁴ See *ibid.* Vol. XL, p. 221.

³ *Ibid.* Vol. XL, p. 84.

⁵ *Ibid.* Vol. XVI, p. 78.

The apparel and clothing of these natives of Luzon before the entrance of the Spaniards into the country were generally, for the men, certain short collarless garments of *cangan*, sewed together in the front, and with short sleeves, and reaching slightly below the waist, some were blue and others black, while the chiefs had some red ones, called *chinanas*¹ They also wore a strip of colored cloth wrapped about the waist, and passed between the legs, so that it covered the privy parts, reaching half way down the thigh, these are called *bahaques* They go with legs bare, feet unshod, and the head uncovered, wrapping a narrow cloth, called *potong* just below it, with which they bind the forehead and temples

We learn more concerning their dress in a note by Rizal, who quotes Colin

The last complement of the gala dress was, in the manner of our sashes, a richly dyed shawl crossed at the shoulder and fastened under the arm which was very usual with them² The Bisayans, in place of this, wore robes or loose garments, well made and collarless, reaching to the instep, and embroidered in colors All their costume, in fact, was in the Moorish manner, and was truly elegant and rich, and even today they consider it so

Personal adornment The early Filipinos used many articles for personal adornment³

The women throughout this island wear small jackets [*sayuelos*] with sleeves of the same kinds of cloth and of all colors, called *taros*¹ They wear no shifts, but certain white cotton garments which are wrapped about the waist and fall to the feet, while other dyed cloths are wrapped about the body, like kirtles, and are very graceful The principal women have crimson ones, and some of silk, while others are woven with gold, and adorned with fringe and other ornaments They wear many gold necklaces about the neck, *calumbigas* on the wrists, large earrings of wrought gold in the ears, and rings of gold and precious stones Their black hair is done up in a very graceful knot on the head

¹ Blair and Robertson, *The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898* Vol XVI pp 75-78 The Arthur H Clark Company, Publishers

² *Ibid* Vol XVI, p 77 n

³ See *ibid* Vol XII, pp 186-187

Spanish influence With the coming of the Spaniards, many natives adopted their way of dressing

Since the Spaniards came to the country many Indians do not wear *bahaques*, but wide drawers of the same cloths and materials, and hats on their heads.¹ The chiefs wear braids of wrought gold containing many designs, while many of them wear shoes. The chief women also wear beautiful shoes, many of them having shoes of velvet adorned with gold, and white garments like petticoats

According to Father Colin's testimony, during his time the Filipinos had already adopted the Spanish dress and ornaments

But now they have begun to wear the Spanish clothes and ornaments, namely, chains, necklaces, skirts, shoes and mantillas, or black veils.² The men wear hats, short jackets [*ropillas*], breeches and shoes. Consequently, the present dress of the Indians in these regions is now almost Spanish

Food and feasts. Morga gives us an account of the daily food of the Filipino

Their ordinary food is rice pounded in wooden mortars, and cooked boiled fish (which is very abundant), the flesh of swine, deer, and wild buffaloes.¹ They also eat boiled camotes, beans, *qualites*, and other vegetables, all kinds of bananas, guavas, pineapples, custard apples, many varieties of oranges, and other varieties of fruits and herbs, with which the country teems

The Filipinos made a wine from cocoa and the nipa palm

It is a wine of the clarity of water, but strong and dry.¹ If it be used with moderation, it acts as a medicine for the stomach, and is a protection against humors and all sorts of rheums. Mixed with Spanish wine, it makes a mild liquor, and one very palatable and healthful

In the assemblies, marriages, and feasts of the natives of these islands, the chief thing consists in drinking this wine, day and night, without ceasing, when the turn of each comes, some singing and

¹ Blair and Robertson *The Philippine Islands 1493-1898* Vol XVI pp 77-81 The Arthur H Clark Company Publishers ² *Ibid* Vol XL p 63

others drinking As a consequence they generally become intoxicated without this vice being regarded as a dishonor or disgrace

From Chirino we get a clearer idea of the nature of their feasts and banquets

The time for their feasts wherein they ate and drank to excess was as we have said upon occasions of illness death and mourning Such was also their custom at betrothals weddings and sacrifices and with guests and visitors Upon all these occasions there was not a door closed against anyone who might desire to go to drink with them — for they designate a feast by the term drinking not eating In the feasts which they held upon occasions of sacrifice they were wont to place at one side of the table a plate upon which he who chose would throw by way of religious ceremony some mouthful of food which he refrained from eating out of respect to the anito They eat sitting in a low position and their tables are small low and round or square in shape without covering or napkins the plates containing the victuals being placed on the table itself They eat in groups of sufficient number to surround the table and it may happen that a house is filled from one end to another with tables and guests drinking

We are told that though they drank more than they should they did not become violent

They eat but little drink often and spend much time in the feast¹ When they are satiated with food and intoxicated with the drink they remove the tables and clear the house and if the feast is not one of mourning they sing play musical instruments dance and in this way spend days and nights with great uproar and shouting — until finally they fall exhausted and drowsy But they are never seen to become in their intoxication so frenzied or crazed that they commit excesses on the contrary they preserve in the main their ordinary conduct and even under the influence of wine act with as much respect and prudence as before although

¹ Blair and Robertson *The Philippine Islands 1493-1898* Vol XII pp 308-310 The Arthur H. Clark Company Publishers

they are naturally more lively and talkative and utter witty remarks. It is proverbial among us that none of them, upon leaving the feast late at night in a state of intoxication, fails to reach his home. Moreover, if they have occasion to buy or sell anything they not only make no mistake in the bargaining but if it is necessary to weigh the gold or silver for the price (which is the coming usage among those nations each person carrying for that purpose a small pair of scales in his wallet) they do it with such accuracy that the hand never trembles nor is there any error in the weight.

VI POLITICAL CONFLICTS

The people opposed to the new rulers — collection of tribute. One of the Laws of the Indies originally enacted in 1523 and several times repromulgated, states

Since it is the just and reasonable thing, that the Indians, who may be pacified, and reduced to obedience and vassalage to us, should render tribute in recognition of our sovereignty, and should give such service as our subjects and vassals owe, and as moreover, they have established among themselves the custom of paying tribute to their chiefs we command that they be persuaded to aid us with tribute, in such moderate amount of the fruits of the earth, as may from time to time be required by law¹

The collection of the tribute was commenced in the Philip-pines immediately after the settlement by Legazpi, and was continued until 1884, a period of over three hundred years, with practically no change in form or in the methods of administration. The rate of tribute was originally eight reals for each family, but this was early raised to ten *reales fuertes*, or about one peso and fifty centavos, payable in kind at official price.

Abuses in collection. From the beginning of the Spanish regime the collection of the tribute was a source of many abuses and consequently of much suffering on the part of the people

¹ See Laws of the Indies book vi title v law 1

Father Martin de Rada provincial of the Augustinians, writing in 1574, gives us a sad picture of the lot of the Filipinos

All the more unjust are these conquests that in none, or almost none of them has there been any cause¹ For as your Lordship knows we have gone everywhere with the mailed hand, and we have required the people to be friends, and then to give us tribute At times war has been declared against them because they did not give as much as was demanded And if they would not give tribute, but defended themselves, then they have been attacked, and war has been carried on with fire and sword, and even on some occasions after the people have been killed and destroyed, and their village taken the Spaniards have sent men to summon them to make peace And when the Indians, in order not to be destroyed, came to say that they would like to be friends, the Spaniards have immediately asked them for tribute, as they have done but recently in all the villages of Los Camarines And wherever the Indians, through fear of the Spaniards, have left their houses and fled to the mountains, our people have burned the houses or inflicted other great injuries I omit mention of the villages that are robbed without awaiting peace, or those assaulted in the night time Pretexts have been seized to subjugate all these villages, and levy tribute on them, to such amount as can be secured With what conscience has a future tribute been asked from them, before they knew us, or before they have received any benefit from us? With what right have three extortions of large amounts of gold, been made on the Ylocos, without holding any other communication or intercourse with them, beyond going there, and demanding gold of them, and then returning? And I say the same of Los Camarines and of Acuyo and the other villages that are somewhat separated from the Spanish settlements In all this is it not clear that tribute is unjustly raised?

In a report to the king dated 1583, Domingo de Salazar, the first bishop of the Philippines, complained of the injuries inflicted upon the Filipinos in the collection of tribute

¹ Blair and Robertson *The Philippine Islands 1493-1898* Vol III pp 234-255 The Arthur H Clark Company Publishers

Here my powers fail me, I lack the courage, and I can find no words, to express to your Majesty the misfortunes, injuries, and vexations, the torments and miseries, which the Indians are made to suffer in the collection of the tributes¹ The tribute at which all are commonly rated is the value of eight reals, paid in gold or in produce which they gather from their lands, but this rate is observed like all other rules that are in favor of the Indians — that is, it is never observed at all Some they compel to pay it in gold, even when they do not have it In regard to the gold likewise, there are great abuses, because as there are vast differences in gold here, they always make the natives give the finest Others make them pay cloth or thread But the evil is not here, but in the manner of collecting, for if the chief does not give them as much gold as they demand, or does not pay for as many Indians as they say there are, they crucify the unfortunate chief, or put his head in the stocks — for all the encomenderos, when they go to collect, have their stocks, and there they lash and torment the chiefs until they give the entire sum demanded from them Sometimes the wife or daughter of the chief is seized, when he himself does not appear Many are the chiefs who have died of torture in the manner which I have stated When I was in the port of Ybalón some chiefs came there to see me, and the first thing they said to me was, that one who was collecting the tributes in that settlement had killed a chief by torture, and the same Indians indicated the manner in which he had been killed, which was by crucifixion, and hanging him by the arms²

The general assembly of Spaniards — including religious, officials, and citizens — held in Manila on April 20, 1586, likewise referred to these abuses of the encomenderos, and recommended that “the tributes be in the standard of Castilian reals, paid in money, or in the produce of the soil, as the Indian has them, and as he chooses provided that their value remains”³

¹ Blair and Robertson *The Philippine Islands 1493-1898* Vol V pp 223

² The Arthur H Clark Company Publishers

³ See *ibid* Vol XXXIV pp 259-261 273 274 278

⁴ *Ibid* Vol VI p 191

Remedial legislation As a result of these representations from the Philippines the king issued the necessary instruction to remedy the abuses by allowing the people to pay in the product which they chose¹ The king however did not accept the principle advanced by Father Rada and Bishop Salazar who maintained that by the existing decrees concerning encomiendas tributes could be collected provided the encomenderos furnished the necessary instructions in the Christian religion

After conference and discussion regarding this in my Council of the Indias in presence of the said bishop and other religious it was resolved that tributes should be collected throughout without any exceptions from all the Indians who were pacified even though they were not Christians and that among those Indians who should not have any instruction the portion to be applied to that purpose should upon collection be kept in a separate account for some hospitals as a means of benefit for the said Indians and so that they may also be furnished instruction therefrom² A decree was sent in accordance with this and its duplicate will be given you so that after you shall have examined and understood it you shall cause its contents to be observed to the letter And with that prudence which I expect from you you shall see that the religious orders and the religious observe this matter

Revolts of Filipinos As a result of the abuses described by Bishop Salazar and Father Rada and on account of the natural resentment of Filipino leaders against the usurpation of political power by the Spaniards many revolts occurred throughout the Philippines—in Manila in Cagayan in Zambales in Mindanao in Mindoro in Pampanga and in the Visayan (or Bisaya) Islands

Mention has already been made of the revolt in 1574 of Rajah Soliman and Rajah Lacandola who were aided by

See Blair and Robertson *The Philippine Islands 1493-1898* Vol. IX pp. 249-250 The Arthur H. Clark Company Publishers

² *Ibid.* Vol. IX p. 227

people from Bulacan and Pampanga. Another important revolt was that of Cagayan under Magalat. But the most significant political movement during this early period was the attempt on the part of the chiefs of Manila, Tondo, Bulacan, Laguna, Cavite, and other neighboring settlements to regain "the freedom and lordship which their fathers had enjoyed before them" ¹

The plan was to invite the chiefs of Borneo, Jolo, Cuyo, and the Calamianes to make common cause against the Spaniards in the Philippines. An agreement was entered between the Filipino chiefs and a Japanese ship captain. He was to enter the city with soldiers from Japan under pretext of peace and commerce, and was to bring flags for the Spaniards, so that they should think his intentions peaceful. Then all together they would oust the Spaniards, and if successful, make one of the Filipino chiefs "king of the land and collect the tribute from the natives," ² which would be divided between the new king and the Japanese. The movement failed, however, because it was discovered by Captain Pedro Sarmiento while he was in the Calamianes Islands, here he learned through his Filipino assistant, Antonio Surabao, that the three chiefs of Tondo — Magat Salamat, Agustin Manugut, and Joan Banal — were on the same island.

Among those sentenced to death were the chiefs of Manila, Agustin de Legaspi and Martin Panga, who "were condemned to be dragged and hanged, their heads were to be cut off and exposed on the gibbet in iron cages, as an example and warning against said crime" ³. Those exiled to New Spain were Pedro Balinguit, chief of Pandaca, Pitongatan chief of Tondo, Phelipe Salonga, chief of Polo, Omaghicon, chief of Navotas, Geronimo Bassi, Phelipe Salahlala, chief of Misilo, Esteban Taes, chief of Bulacan, and Agustin Manugut.

¹ Blair and Robertson *The Philippine Islands 1493-1898* Vol VII p 102
The Arthur H. Clark Company, Publishers

² *Ibid* Vol VII p 99

³ *Ibid* Vol VII p 104

Among those exiled from their villages were Phelipe Amarlangagui chief of Catangalan Daulat chief of the village of Castilla Joan Basi chief of Tagui Dionisio Capolo chief of Candava Francisco Acta chief of Tondo, Gabriel Tuambacar another chief of Tondo, Calao chief of Tondo, and Joan Banal also chief of Tondo It is of interest to recall that the reigning families of Manila were related by blood ties to the ruling classes of Borneo

Church and state We have already seen how Father Rada reported to the king the hardships suffered by the Filipinos in connection with the collection of tribute But he went further than condemning those abuses he even questioned the right of the officials to make war on the people Referring to the missionaries under him he said that they unanimously affirm that *none among all these islands have come into power of the Spaniards with just title* ¹

Justifying their conduct in a reply sent to the king Guido de Lavezaris and other officials said

To this we have only to reply that we came to these districts by his Majesty's order and therefore are here obeying his royal mandate and as we are not lawyers we shall cease discussing the justice title or cause that his Majesty has or can have in these islands ²

Likewise Bishop Domingo de Salazar who came in 1581 assailed the officials for their harsh treatment of the people He advocated a humane policy and naturally clashed with the military officials To the king he wrote

I cannot picture to your Majesty nor declare what I feel in my heart about this matter ³ Moreover I am very sure that all the chastisements given us by God the hardships misfortunes and calamities sent us all are because of evil treatment of the Indians

¹ Blair and Robertson *The Philippines 1493-1898* Vol III p 254
The Arthur H. Clark Company Publishers

² *Ibid* Vol III p 26

³ *Ibid* Vol VII p 71

d the little heed taken for the principal reason for our coming — at is, their conversion and protection.

On the other hand, we find the governor-general and other officials complaining to the king about the domineering attitude of the bishop and the religious and their meddling in



FIG. 26 TYPE OF SPANISH BRIDGE

civil affairs. In a long letter in 1592 Gómez Pérez Dasmariñas (1590-1593) refers to the obstacles to good government, and says:

One of them, and not the least, is the power, authority, and even tyranny, with which the bishop and religious have insinuated themselves into and domineered over it¹ Nothing is attempted or tried that they are not wont to oppose it, and nothing is ordained or decreed here in which they do not meddle and interfere, without being summoned or consulted. They assert that they must pass

¹ Blair and Robertson, *The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898*, Vol VIII, pp. 276-277. The Arthur H. Clark Company, Publishers.

their edict of approval or disapproval on everything, so that there are but few or no matters whose execution they do not oppose and obstruct — saying that such and such cannot be done or ordered under penalty of going to hell and, in conjunction with the bishop they immediately excommunicate and terrorize so that the secular arm and hand of your Majesty has not here the strength and freedom that it should have for the execution of affairs

That the missionaries wielded from the beginning greater power over the people than did the officials is shown in the same letter of Governor Perez Dasmarias

If things are not quite to his taste, he says that he will go into retirement and abandon everything¹ And the friars say the same thing—namely that they will abandon their doctrinas [*i e* Christian villages] if their power over the Indians is taken away This power is such that the Indians recognize no other king or superior than the father of the doctrina and are more attentive to his commands than to those of the governor Therefore the friars make use of them by the hundreds as slaves, in their rowing works services and in other ways, without paying them and whipping them as if they were highwaymen In whatever pertains to the fathers there is no grief or pity felt for the Indians, but as for some service of your Majesty, or a public work, in which an Indian may be needed or as for anything ordered from them, the religious are bound to gainsay it, place it on one's conscience hinder it

It was also charged that the church members were not content with the administration of matters pertaining to religion alone, but interfered with government and the civil law

For¹ they do not content themselves with opposing our proceedings in the tribunal of conscience [*juero interior*] announcing them as sins or cases against conscience but also as soon as they assemble in their councils and enunciate their propositions, in the latter and in their pulpits they declare these acts to be unjust, wrong and worthy

¹ Blair and Robertson *The Philippine Islands 1493-1898* Vol VIII pp 78 279 The Arthur H Clark Company Publishers

of restitution Thereupon the bishop orders refusal of absolution in confessions, excommunicates, and proceeds in the outer court¹ Thus if it is ordered in accordance with your Majesty's commands that the citizens alone discuss [any matters], they say that is not just, because it must be for the general welfare And if, by your Majesty's command, it is ordered that the Chinese merchandise be bought at one price, theology declares that no such thing can be ordered If it is decreed that the Indians, in order that they may cultivate and weave their cotton, since it is so abundant in the country, should not wear silks and Chinese stuffs, nothing could be worse No sooner is the excise, or the merchant's peso, or the two per cent duty imposed for the wall, than it is against conscience and the bull *De cena Domini* ["of the Lord's supper"]

Advised of these quarrels, the king issued instructions intended to remedy the situation One of these instructions states that

the religious impose difficulties in the collection of the tributes in the encomiendas, saying that some of the encomiendas do not have the adequate instruction, and assigning other reasons for other encomiendas² Thus the religious meddle in nearly everything, just as they did in opposing the pancada and the assessment that was levied for the walls and fortifications of Manila The bishop took part in some of these matters by declaring the governor excommunicated This has caused all to live, and they still live, with no hope Inasmuch as great moderation and consideration must be shown in all action without allowing the people to live in so great anxiety and embarrassment, you shall confer with the secular and regular superiors, so that they may advise their subordinates — the preachers and confessors — not to offend the people with such propositions, and that whenever the latter think it advisable to make any reform, they shall confer with the same superiors, as these are men of learning who by right should discuss and procure the reform They shall communicate this matter

¹*Foro exterior* — a court of canon civil laws in opposition to the inner court or tribunal of conscience

²Blair and Robertson *The Philippine Islands 1493-1898* Vol. IX pp. 228-229 The Arthur H. Clark Company Publishers

to you, in order that you may enact whatever reform is advisable and possible. You shall advise me of what is most suitable for reform in order that the matter may be examined and determined here.

These incidents occurring toward the close of the sixteenth century are but the prelude to similar conflicts between church and state which characterized the following centuries of Spanish regime.

Controversy between regular and secular clergy There was still another conflict this time between two rival groups within the church itself. The quarrel here was between the secular and the regular priests over the question whether the parishes should be secularized or whether they should remain under the control of the religious orders, and whether they should be visited by the bishops or by the heads of the various orders. Bishop Salazar tried to exercise the right of visitation but he met with strong opposition from the religious orders. This problem in the internal policy of the church became of greater importance in later centuries, and is another characteristic of subsequent Philippine history.

The Portuguese In spite of the fact that in 1529 Spain ceded her right to the Moluccas and the Philippines in favor of Portugal Spaniards settled in Cebu where Legazpi met with the opposition of the Portuguese. Twice the Portuguese captain general, Gonzalo de Pereira, tried to blockade Cebu but upon Legazpi's firm refusal to surrender and on account of other difficulties such as lack of food and an epidemic, he went away. This was in 1568 and in 1570.

In 1580 Portugal was conquered by Philip II and annexed to Spain. This meant the annexation of the Portuguese eastern colonies. This event explains the expeditions sent by Spain to the Moluccas. The first of these expeditions was the one organized by Governor Gonzalo Ronquillo de Penalosa (1580-1583) in 1582 for the purpose of reconquering Ternate Island, it proved a failure because of beri beri which attacked the soldiers.

upon their arrival in the Moluccas. In 1585 Governor Santiago de Vera (1584-1590) sent another expedition, which met with the same difficulties as the first. Under Governor Pérez Dasmariñas (1590-1593) a great expedition sailed for the Moluccas in 1593, but the mutiny of the Chinese rowers resulted in the governor's death, and the expedition was discontinued. Under Pedro Bravo de Acuña (1602-1606) an expedition was sent to regain Ternate from the Dutch, but the Portuguese captain's refusal to continue the siege so disgusted the Spanish that they decided to return to Manila.

The Dutch. Why did the Dutch decide to acquire colonies in the East? After Spain's annexation of Portugal, Philip II put a stop to the flourishing trade in Eastern goods between the Netherlands and Lisbon. Being thus deprived of this source of profit, the Dutch decided to secure the Eastern goods directly from trading posts of their own. In this plan they were aided by other events in Europe of far greater significance: English naval supremacy was then beginning to assert itself, and in the year 1588 the great Spanish Armada went down in defeat before the newly organized English navy; with it went also the Portuguese fleet.

The first Dutch expedition was sent out in 1595. In Java an alliance was formed with the native princes, and thus the traders were able to secure pepper. In 1598 a combined Spanish and Portuguese fleet was defeated, and trading posts were acquired in Java and Johore, and in 1605 trading posts were established in Amboina and Tidore.

The Dutch were interested only in trade, and to that end they tried to gain the friendship of the native rulers, and to make an alliance with them. Their entrance into the Pacific and Indian waters broke the monopoly hitherto enjoyed by Spain and Portugal. The Spanish effort to drive the Dutch from the Portuguese possessions caused them to retaliate in the Philippines, and opened an era of Dutch reprisals which lasted till the middle of the seventeenth century.

The Chinese One of the great periods of Chinese emigration was that beginning with the fifteenth century. The pressure of population and the love of adventure caused thousands of Chinese especially from the southern provinces to migrate to other lands. From this region also came the notorious Chinese pirates who infested the China Sea in those days. One of these pirates was Limahon who in November of 1574 presented himself in Manila with a fleet of sixty two junks having with him four thousand men together with women and artisans for the new settlement that he intended to start. The Chinese attacked Manila but were repulsed. They were going to make a second attack but the timely arrival of Juan de Salcedo saved the city. Limahon sailed away and landed in Pangasinan where he fortified himself at the entrance of the Lingayen River. But the Spaniards followed him there. With two hundred and fifty Spaniards and fifteen hundred Filipinos Salcedo drove the Chinese away and thus the Philippines were saved for Spain.

The Moros In accordance with their policy of spreading Christianity the Spaniards tried to subdue the Mohammedan Filipinos of Jolo and Mindanao called by them Moros. The expedition sent by Governor Francisco de Sande in 1578 against Jolo and Mindanao so incensed the Moros that in retaliation they began to send expeditions against the settlements of the north attacking not only Spaniards but also the Christianized Filipinos under them.

The term of Governor Francisco Tello de Guzman (1596-1602) is especially characterized by frequent and violent Moro attacks. Cebu, Negros and Panay islands were raided in 1599 by a large fleet of fifty vessels. In 1600 a larger fleet came and attacked Panay. The Spaniards proved unable to subdue these adventurous fighters of the south and the wars against the Moros dragged on till the very end of the Spanish regime characterizing the whole of the Spanish rule of the Philippines.

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The island of Panay was reported to be well populated and fertile. The valley of the Bicol region and coast of Ilocos were reported to be thickly populated.

Thus the regions notable for their population at the time of the Spaniards' arrival were Cebú, the coast of Iloilo, Manila, and around Laguna de Bay, the valleys of the Grande de la Pampanga and the Bicol rivers, and the coast of Ilocos.¹

Distribution of population in 1591; the first census What may be considered as the first census report of the Philippines (Fig. 28) was the "Relación de encomiendas en las Islas Filipinas,"² prepared in 1591 by order of Governor Gómez Pérez Dasmariñas. By that time most of the Philippines, from the Cagayan valley in northern Luzon to the northern coast of Mindanao, had already been placed under the sway of Spanish authority. According to the relación, there were 166,903 tributes equivalent to 667,612 souls, 31 royal encomiendas, 236 encomiendas belonging to individuals, 140 religious, and 12 alcaldes mayor.

The islands had already been divided into provinces, which included Manila, Pampanga, Pangasinan, Ilocos, Cagayan, Laguna, Camarines, Cebu (which included Samar, Leyte, Bohol, and northern Mindanao), Panay, and Calilaya (which included Mindoro, Lubang, Batangas, the Calamianes, and Marinduque).

Manila, with the coast of Manila bay and the encomiendas of Cavite and Maragondong, contained, according to this official report, about 30,640 souls, Pampanga, which included Bataan and Bulacán, about 75,000 souls, Pangasinán, where the population was confined to the immediate vicinity of the Gulf of Lingayen, including the Cape of Bolinao, had 24,000 inhabitants.³ The interior of the central plain of Luzón, embraced to-day by the

¹ Census of the Philippine Islands 1903, Vol. I, pp. 419-420.

² See Blair and Robertson *The Philippine Islands 1493-1898*, Vol. VIII, pp. 96-141. The Arthur H. Clark Company, Publishers.

³ Census of the Philippine Islands 1903, Vol. I, pp. 421-423.

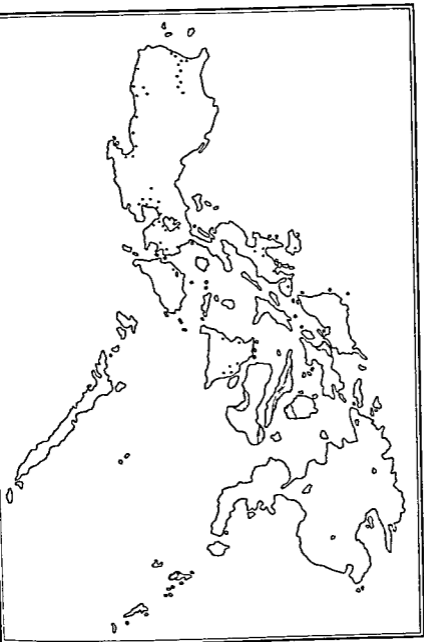


FIG 28 DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION ACCORDING TO THE FIRST CENSUS, 1591

Shading indicates a population of unknown density. Dots indicate a population of known density, each dot representing 10,000 people.

provinces of Tarlac and Nueva Ecija, seems to have had then practically no population at all — at least this region was not divided into encomiendas, nor in the historical accounts is there mention of finding population between the river Pampanga and the Lingayen gulf. It is probable that great forests then covered this interior valley, the vestiges of which are still to be seen. Cagayan valley had a relatively large population — 97,000 — but this included an encomienda of wild Igorot on the upper waters of the river, the Babuyán Islands, Calayán, and Camiguín, and, considering estimates at the beginning of the last century, may have been a gross exaggeration of the actual number. Ilocos, the whole narrow coast facing the China sea from the extreme north of Luzón to the Gulf of Lingayén, yielded 17,130 tributes, including "*El Abra de Bigan*," which would give us a population of 68,520 souls, a larger number than is given by the tribute collectors a century and a half later. The environs of La Laguna, including Mórong, had 48,000 people. The Bicol country and the Camarines, including the islands of Capul and Catanduanes, and a possible encomienda on the northernmost point of Sámar, represented 86,640 souls. The islands of Masbate and Burias each yielded 400 tributes.

The jurisdiction of Cebú was very extensive. It included, in addition to the island itself, Masbate, Burias, Leyte, Negros, the settlements of Cagayán and Butúan in northern Mindanao, Caraga on the east coast of Mindanao, both coasts of Sámar, the little islands of Camotes, Mactán, and the other innumerable islets which dot this sea. Altogether the population yielded only 15,833 tributes, which would give us less than 65,000 souls. Bohol seems to have been for a time quite without inhabitants. Negros had no encomienda except in the extreme north, which seems to be due to the fact that its early population was almost entirely Negrito whom the Spaniards were unable to capture and control. The great peninsula of Surigao likewise had no settlements and is practically never mentioned in the historical accounts of this date. Of all this part of the Visayas the island of Leyte was most thickly inhabited and reported no less than ten important encomiendas. The population of Cebú, especially in the vicinity of the city, had apparently declined. The natives evidently preferred to remove from the vicinity of so important a Spanish settlement.

In the jurisdiction of Panay, which included the islands of Guimaras, Tablas, Cabuyan, and Cuyo, there was a relatively large population — 70,000 souls. Of this number no less than a thousand tributes were collected on the little island of Cuyo, which was the encomienda of Capt. Juan Pablo.

The jurisdiction of Calilaya, as stated above, was a curious one. It included altogether about 22,000 souls. On the island of Lubang which had been an ancient Moro stronghold, there were 2000 people. On Mindoro in the vicinity of the Baco river and Calapán, about 2800, around the Bay of Batangas, 5600, while in the vicinity of the river and lake of Bombon (Taal) was one of the largest populations of any one locality — 16,000 people. Their strength may be seen from the fact that years earlier they had repulsed the fiery young soldier, Salcedo.

In the Calamianes there were collected 2500 tributes, "with the Negrillos" which gives a population of about 10,000 and this probably includes settlements on the north coast of Paragua.

One district more of the archipelago must be noticed, and that is the east or Pacific coast of Luzon. Here were a few scattered and very ancient Tagalog settlements whose population from that date to this has remained almost stationary. Mauban had 3000 people, Casiguran, 2000, and Baler, about the same.

In connection with the total number of souls given in the "Relacion de encomiendas," it should be remembered that it did not include the mountain Igorot, the Moros of the south, or the Negritos. The fact, too, that many Filipinos lost their lives as a result of Spanish conquest strengthens the belief entertained by LeRoy in this statement: "We may place the pre conquest population of the whole archipelago anywhere from one million to two and a half millions, though perhaps nearer the former than the latter figure."¹

Effect of conquest on population. How did Spanish conquest affect the population? The Census of 1903 says that the country was depopulated, owing to abandonment of

¹James A. LeRoy, *The Americans in the Philippines*, Vol. I, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1914.

the settlements by the people to escape the rigors of the new régime

The missionaries charged the encomenderos with seeking extortionate profits and of neglecting those duties charged upon them by the Laws of the Indies, viz, the spiritual and temporal advancement of the natives granted them in encomienda¹ The restlessness of the natives under the system was shown in many ways They frequently abandoned their villages, where the tributes and forced labor were exacted with rigor, for other regions or islands This fact would explain in many cases the sudden decrease in population of certain shores and provinces after occupation by the Spanish Whether they simply took to the interior (*remontado*) or removed to other localities out of reach, the result to the population was the same Their grievances appear, also, in the frequent risings which occurred in the last years of the sixteenth century

A dark picture of the havoc wrought on the people by the early conquests is given by Father Ortega

Others on account of having to give this and of their fear at seeing a strange and new race of armed people, abandon their houses and flee to the *tungues* [*i e*, hills] and mountains² When the Spaniards see this, they follow them, discharging their arquebuses at them and mercilessly killing as many as they can Then they go back to the village and kill all the fowls and swine there and carry off all the rice which the poor wretches had for their support After this and after they have robbed them of everything they have in their miserable houses, they set fire to them In this way they burned and destroyed more than four thousand houses in this expedition to Ylocos, and killed more than five hundred Indians, they themselves confessing that they committed that exploit Your Excellency may infer how desolate and ruined this will make the country, for those who have done the mischief say that it will not reach its former state within six years and others say not in a life-

¹ Census of the Philippine Islands 1903 Vol I, pp 423-424

² Blair and Robertson *The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898*, Vol LXXXIV, p 260 The Arthur H Clark Company, Publishers

time Will your Excellency determine whether this is consistent with law, divine or human with religion or Christian charity

It should be noted however that these depredations were against the expressed policy of Spain and the Christian instructions conformable with and akin to precepts and laws of God, which have been given by "our very Christian king and lord Don Felipe," to use Father Ortega's words

II SYSTEMS OF LABOR

Stages in labor development The history of labor in different nations shows that they had generally passed through different stages of development in the first stage there was no distinct laboring class, in the second stage slavery and serfdom appeared, in the third stage free labor, governed by strict customs existed, and in the fourth stage — the present — there is individual contract as well as group contract, the latter being the product of labor unions

The same stages may be discerned in the development of Philippine labor At the time of discovery and settlement by the Spaniards however, Philippine labor had already reached the second and third stages since one form of slavery and serfdom prevailed, and free labor, governed by customs, existed¹

Nobles The nobles, the highest class in the social structure, enjoyed many privileges which were denied to those below them in the social scale

The nobles were the free born whom they call *maharlica*² They did not pay tax or tribute to the dato but must accompany him in war, at their own expense The chief offered them beforehand a feast, and afterward they divided the spoils Moreover when the dato went upon the water those whom he summoned rowed for him If he built a house, they helped him, and had to be fed for it

¹ See Richard T Ely *Outlines of Economics* p 45 The Macmillan Company Publishers 1923

² Blair and Robertson *The Philippine Islands 1493-1898* Vol VII pp 174-176 The Arthur H Clark Company Publishers

Rizal says concerning the relation of slaves to their masters

The condition of these slaves was not always a melancholy one¹ Argensola says that they ate at the same table with their masters and married into their families. The histories fail to record the assassination for motives of vengeance of any master or chief by the natives as they do of encomenderos.

Spanish legislation on slavery While it is true that the early Spanish officials in the Philippines favored the holding of slaves for the purpose of using them in working their estates, Spanish legislation as shown in the Laws of the Indies and in subsequent royal decrees has always prohibited and discouraged slavery. Morga wrote

The Spaniards used to have slaves from these natives whom they had bought from them and others whom they obtained in certain expeditions during the conquest and pacification of the islands.² This was stopped by a brief of his Holiness and by royal decrees. Consequently all of these slaves were then in the possession of the Spanish and who were natives of these islands in whatever manner they had been acquired were freed and the Spaniards were forever prohibited from holding them as slaves, or from capturing them for any reason or under pretext of war or in any other manner. The service rendered by these natives is in return for pay and daily wages. The other slaves and captives that the Spaniards possess are Cafres and blacks brought by the Portuguese by way of India and are held in slavery justifiably in accordance with the provincial councils and the permissions of the prelates and justices of those districts.

In 1526 one of the Laws of the Indies prohibited and penalized slavery.³ In 1541 another law enjoined the Audiencias and governors to ascertain if any encomendero had publicly or secretly sold the natives under him and provided that any found guilty of this grave offense be severely punished.

and deprived of his encomiendas and the right to acquire new ones. A law of 1588 prohibited the caciques from selling their subjects. On April 28, 1586, at a meeting held in Manila by the high officials — civil, ecclesiastical, and military — it was agreed to send Reverend Alonso Sanchez to Spain, and as a result of information given by him to the king concerning the holding of slaves by the Spaniards the king issued a royal decree ordering the emancipation of those slaves on August 9, 1589. The decree reads in part:

Another section of the said memorial also pointed out that although certain Spaniards of tender conscience have freed their slaves native to the said islands, in fulfilment of the provision of my decrees many others have retained them, and do not allow them to have houses of their own or to live on their own land under the ordinary instruction.¹ It is advisable to remedy this also, and I therefore commit it to you and order you that, immediately upon your arrival at the said islands you shall set at liberty all those Indians held as slaves by the Spaniards.

Pope Gregory XIV in a bull issued in Rome on April 18, 1591, forbade slavery in the Philippines under penalty of excommunication.²

Effect of Spanish legislation. It will thus be seen that the immediate effect of the arrival of the Spaniards in the Philippines was to make illegal the holding of slaves and serfs and the selling of human beings. In fact, as has been said by a modern author:

In³ the Kingdoms of the Spanish Peninsula, even in remote times slavery appears to have taken but a surface root and to have been

¹ Blair and Robertson *The Philippine Islands 1493-1898* Vol VII pp 170-171. The Arthur H. Clark Company Publishers.

See *ibid* Vol VIII pp 70-71. A collection of Spanish laws prohibiting slavery is found in the *Assembly Report on Slavery and Peonage in the Philippine Islands* published by the Bureau of Printing in Manila in 1914.

² Dean C. Worcester *Slavery and Peonage in the Philippine Islands* pp 94-95. Bureau of Printing Manila 1913.

In the Philippines personal services for the king's work were imposed on the people. A good description of the system as established in the early years of Spanish occupation is given by Morga.

The natives of these islands have also their personal services, which they are obliged to render — in some parts more than in others — to the Spaniards¹. These are done in different ways, and are commonly called the *polo*. For, where there are *alcaldes-mayor* and justices they assign and distribute certain natives by the week for the service of their houses. They pay these servants a moderate wage which generally amounts to one fourth real per day, and rice for their food. The same is done by the religious for the mission and for their monasteries and churches, and for their works, and for public works.

The Indians also furnish rice, and food of all kinds, at the prices at which they are valued and sold among the natives. These prices are always very moderate. The *datos*, *vilangos*, and *fiscals* make the division collect, and take these supplies from the natives, and in the same manner they supply their *encomenderos* when these go to make the collections.

The greatest service rendered by these natives is on occasions of war, when they act as rowers and crews for the *vireys* and vessels that go on the expeditions, and as pioneers for any service that arises in the course of the war, although their pay and wages are given them.

In the same way natives are assigned and apportioned for the king's works, such as the building of ships, the cutting of wood, the trade of making the rigging, the work in the artillery foundry, and the service in the royal magazines, and they are paid their stipend and daily wage.

In other things pertaining to the service of the Spaniards and their expeditions, works, and any other service performed by the natives, the service is voluntary, and paid by mutual agreement for, as hitherto, the Spaniards have worked no mines, nor have they given themselves to the gains to be derived from field labors, there is no occasion for employing the natives in anything of that sort.

¹ Blair and Robertson *The Philippine Islands 1493-1898* Vol. XVI, pp. 164-165. The Arthur H. Clark Company, Publishers.

A royal decree of 1579 expressly provided that the Filipinos should contribute with their labor in the building of churches (Figs 29 and 30) The decree says in part

I order you immediately to ascertain in what districts and places of those islands monasteries are needed, after which you will take the necessary measures toward their erection, being careful that the houses be modest, and that they be not superfluously furnished¹ If the villages where they are to be founded belong to our royal

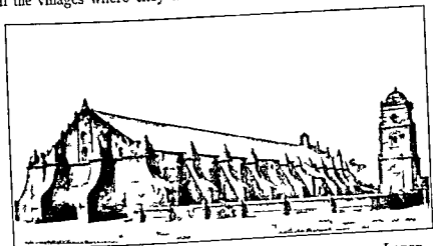


FIG 29 CHURCH AND BELL TOWER BUILT WITH FILIPINO LABOR
Courtesy of Dr Pardo de Tavera

crowns you will give orders that they be erected at our expense, and that the Indians of such villages contribute their labor towards the work and building of them And if the villages are in the charge of private persons the monasteries are to be built at our expense and that of the encomenderos, with the aid of the Indians of such villages apportioned as encomiendas as above mentioned If in the villages live Spaniards holding no encomiendas of Indians, you will assess them also according to their condition and property, for they are in like manner under obligation to contribute toward the building of churches

¹ Blair and Robertson *The Philippine Islands 1493-1898* Vol IV, p 142
The Arthur H. Clark Company Publishers

Another royal decree, especially referring to the Philippines, ordered that

no Indians be distributed in repartimento, in any number, for private or public means of gain, since for the cutting of wood, navigation of caracoas, and other works of this sort, in which our royal treasury is interested, and for the public convenience, the Chinese and Japanese found on any desired occasion in the city of

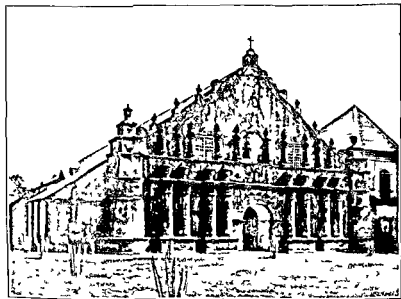


FIG 30 CHURCH AND BELL TOWER AT LAOAG

Courtesy of Dr Pardo de Tavera

Manila must be (as they are) hired, and, as is understood, there will be a sufficient number of workmen among them, who will engage in these services for the just price of their toil ¹

But in case Chinese and Japanese were not available, the decree permitted

that some Indians be forced to work in these occupations, under the following conditions, but in no other manner ¹

¹ Blair and Robertson *The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898*, Vol XVII, 79-81. The Arthur H Clark Company, Publishers

[1] That this repartimiento shall be made only for necessary and unavoidable affairs, for in so odious a matter, the greater benefit to our royal treasury, or the greater convenience of the community, cannot suffice, and all that which is not necessary for their preservation, weighs less than the liberty of the Indians

[2] That the Indians in the repartimiento shall be lessened in number as the voluntary workers shall be introduced whether the latter be Indians or those of other nations

[3] That they shall not be taken from distant districts, and from climates notably different from that of their own villages The choice of all shall proceed without any partiality and so that both the hardship of distances, the burden of the occupations, and compensation for the other circumstances in which there will be more or less grievance, shall be shared and distributed equally, so that all may share the greater and less toilsome services, so that the benefit and alleviation shown to some may not be changed into injury toward others

[4] That the governor assign the number of hours that they shall work each day, taking into consideration the lack of strength and weak physical constitutions

[5] That they be given in full the wages that they earn for their work And they shall be paid personally each day, or at the end of the week, as they may choose

[6] That the repartimiento be made at a time that does not embarrass or hinder the sowing and harvesting of land products or the other occasions and periods upon which the Indians have to attend to the profit and management of their property, for our intention is that they be not deprived of it and that they may be able to attend to everything

Effect of forced labor on the people The foregoing regulations were intended to protect the people but they proved ineffective in preventing abuses At one time the most prominent chiefs of Manila and forty others from neighboring towns went to Bishop Domingo de Salazar and complained of the hardships caused by forced labor imposed by the alcaaldes-mayor The bishop pointed out these abuses to the king

Furthermore, they oblige the Indians to act as their oarsmen, whenever they wish ¹ If they return from an expedition which has lasted a month, they are told straightway to prepare for another, being paid nothing whatsoever, nevertheless in every village assessments are levied upon the natives, for the payment of those who go on such service. If at any time they are paid, it is very little, and that very seldom ²

To the same effect were the reports of other officials. In his report to the king Governor Niño de Tavora says "I found them greatly oppressed and harassed by the many burdens, assessments, and services that were imposed on them for the service of your Majesty and the support of the government employees and justices" ³

The missionaries were likewise charged with committing abuses. In his "Report of Conditions in the Philippines," Morga complained that "They distress the Indians by demanding their services as rowers, and contributions of rice, wine, fowls, and other things, with but slight payment, or even none ⁴ They employ many more Indians than are necessary, who serve in many capacities without pay" To prevent these abuses of the missionaries a royal decree was issued ordering "that the religious shall not use the Indians, unless they pay them their just wage; and, that, except by license of you my governor, they shall not make repartimientos on the Indians or oblige them to render service" ⁵

¹ Blair and Robertson, *The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898*, Vol V, p 190
The Arthur H. Clark Company, Publishers

² See *ibid* Vol X, pp 116-118

³ *Ibid* Vol XXII, p 272

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QUESTIONS AND TOPICS FOR FURTHER STUDY

- 1 What were the populated regions at the time of Legazpi? (Reference No 1)
- 2 What was the first census of the Philippines, and what conditions did it show? (References Nos 1 3)
- 3 What was the effect of conquest on population?
- 4 What are the stages in labor development? (Reference No 6)
- 5 What stage had been attained by the Philippines when the Spaniards arrived?
- 6 What were the social classes among the Filipinos? (Reference No 7)
- 7 Describe slavery and serfdom (References Nos 7 9 11)
- 8 Give an account of Spanish legislation concerning slavery (References Nos 10 11)
- 9 What personal services were required of Filipinos? (References Nos 9 14 15)
- 10 Did slavery as an institution exist in the Philippines after Spanish occupation? (Reference No 11)
- 11 What in your opinion are the modern survivals of the ancient Filipino social classes? (Reference No 12)
- 12 What were the effects of Spanish personal services on the people?
- 13 Did personal services interfere with the industries of the people? In your opinion would this interference with industries partly explain the neglect of business by Filipinos till later times?

PART II. THE PERIOD OF RESTRICTIONS, 1600-1815

CHAPTER IX

PHILIPPINE COMMERCE AND SPANISH MERCANTILE POLICY

In the preceding chapters we have surveyed the state of development of the Philippines at the time the Spaniards discovered the Islands and settled there, and we have traced the changes wrought during approximately the first half century of Filipino-Spanish relations. In the next three chapters we are to follow Philippine development during a period of over two hundred years, which we call the period of restrictions, basing this classification on the restrictive policy which characterized Spanish economic life at that time.¹

Mercantilism in Europe. The restrictions on commerce formed a part of a politico-economic system known as mercantilism, which, taking form in the second half of the sixteenth century, dominated the commercial relations of all European nations until it was eventually broken down some two hundred years later. The customs duties were a part of that system.

What was the essential aim of mercantilism?

The² assumption upon which the system was based was that the strength of a nation is absolutely dependent upon the possession of

¹ This period has been designated as one of stagnation by Charles B. Elliot in *The Philippines*, Vol. I, chap. vi. The Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1916. Dr. Pardo de Tavera calls this the period of "tutelar sequestration."

² From Frederic A. Ogg's *Economic Development of Modern Europe*, 1917. Used by permission of The Macmillan Company, Publishers.

a large and permanent stock of precious metals. It was a matter of common observation that the precious metals were in universal demand, that they were always acceptable in payment for goods that wealth was estimated generally in terms of money. It was observed too, that so long as Spain and Portugal had been in receipt of liberal supplies of gold and silver from the New World these states had been powerful and apparently prosperous. Specie is especially needful in war and it is not strange that in an age when wars were frequent it should have been felt that the supreme object of national policy in time of peace should be the storing up of ready money, in the coffers of the state and in the purses of the people. Gold and silver however, were produced in few European countries, and in limited quantities.

It became the idea of the mercantilists, therefore to control the foreign trade in such a manner that the largest possible quantity of the metals should be brought into a country while the exportation thereof should be kept at a minimum.

Spanish mercantilism. Spain's commercial policy in the Philippines was determined according to the general European mercantilistic ideas. As summarized by LeRoy:

To save the trade of the Americas in the main for the manufactures of Spain, to prevent too great an outflow of the silver of Mexico and South America to the Orient, where it was then, as it still is, in great measure mysteriously swallowed up, and to limit the trade of Manila to an amount the imposts on which would merely yield the cost of maintaining the Spanish establishment in the archipelago, without bringing too much of the cheaper goods of the Orient into competition with those of Spain, seem to have been the main motives of Spain's economic policy.¹

Hardly had wealth been created in the Philippines by the commerce of the first years after the conquest when the policy of restriction found its strong supporters in the merchants of Cadiz and Seville, who, accustomed to monopolize the trade

¹ James A. LeRoy, *The Americans in the Philippines*, Vol. I. Houghton Mifflin Company, 1914.

with America, looked with jealous eyes upon the rapidly growing prosperity of Manila, the new center of trade (Fig. 31). In Mexico the cotton and silk cloths from China were underselling those coming from Spain and Peru, and a good deal of the silver was going not to Spain but to the East. This situation was the cause of the long-drawn-out rivalry between Manila on the one hand and Cadiz and Seville on the other, with

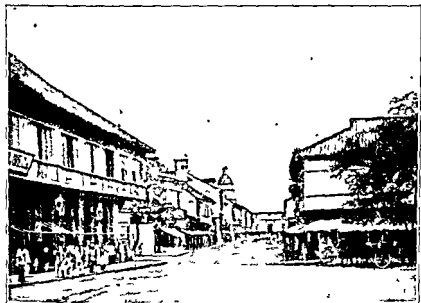


FIG 31. THE OLD CALLE ROSARIO, MANILA

Courtesy of Dr Pardo de Tavera

America as a third party, working for her own interest. Commercial activity was the outstanding phenomenon in the development of the Philippines for over two centuries, and had a marked influence upon their whole economic development.

Arguments advanced by Manila against restrictions. In answer to the opposition of the merchants in Spain, the Spaniards of Manila alleged that the goods that they exported to New Spain were different from those coming from Spain, and therefore that there was really no competition between them;

fifty thousand pesos annually for the exports to Mexico, and five hundred thousand pesos for the imports from Mexico, all to be carried in two ships not to exceed three hundred tons' burden each. It was also decreed that

no person trade or traffic in the kingdoms or in any part of China, and that no goods be shipped from that kingdom to the Filipinas Islands on the account of the merchants of those islands¹ The Chinese themselves shall convey their goods at their own account and risk, and sell them there by wholesale.

Further, it was ordered that

the Chinese merchandise and articles which have been and shall be shipped from Filipinas to Nueva España, can and shall be consumed there only, or shipped to these kingdoms after paying the duties¹ They can not be taken to Perú, Tierra-Firme, or any other part of the Indias, under penalty of confiscation

Enforcement of early restrictions. The early restrictions were not rigidly enforced and evasion was tolerated. It was not until 1635 that measures were taken to enforce the prohibitory legislation. Azcárraga says:

Fortunately that tyrannical provision, meeting with the opposition of the private interests, which it so greatly injured, and among which were included those of the authorities and officials who were called upon to enforce it — was prevented from being carried in force, and thus, in reality, the Acapulco trade continued unlimited until the year 1604, when, by another decree the enforcement of previous laws was ordered² However, evasion of the law was a common practice, and the galleons usually carried very much more cargo than was allowed. The abuses became so apparent that in 1635, at the instigation of the merchants of Cadiz and Seville, a special commissioner was sent to Manila, who strictly enforced the

¹ Blair and Robertson, *The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898*, Vol. XVII, pp. 32-33. The Arthur H. Clark Company, Publishers.

² Manuel de Azcárraga y Palmero, *La Libertad de Comercio en las Islas Filipinas*, p. 41. Madrid, 1871.

law And, in order to prevent all evasions of the law, it was decreed in 1636 to the viceroys of Peru and New Spain to prohibit and suppress, without fail, this commerce and trade between both kingdoms, by all the ways and means possible ¹

Later restrictions The remainder of the seventeenth century found Manila still engaged in a great commercial controversy with the merchants of Spain, the endless number of petitions sent from the Philippines to the king bear ample testimony to the magnitude of the problem As to the effect of these restrictions Azcarraga says that

at the end of that century there was nothing but poverty and discontent in the city, the white population had hardly increased, commerce confined within the narrow sphere of periodic voyages to Acapulco, was languishing without attempting to engage in any other kind of traffic, and poverty was reflected even in the very troops stationed in the city, who did duty unshod and without uniform (*camisa*), frequently committing robberies at the Chinese stores ²

Further petition from Manila resulted in a decree in 1702 that two ships should be built in the Philippine Islands, each of five hundred tons' burden which should transport the goods permitted to the trade, that in these the citizens should be authorized to convey to New Spain their products and other commodities to the value of three hundred thousand pesos, and on the return to the Philippines to carry six hundred thousand pesos in silver, allowing one hundred per cent gain, minus the duties and expenses It was further provided in the decree that in the enumeration of the traders should be included the Spaniards in the country, and the military men stationed in the port of Cavite, excluding however ecclesiastical ministers whether secular or regular, and foreigners

¹ See Blair and Robertson *The Philippine Islands 1493-1898* Vol XVII pp 42-45 The Arthur H Clark Company Publishers

² Manuel de Azcárraga y Palmero *La Libertad de Comercio en las Islas Filipinas* p 54 Madrid 1871

If a person had no goods to export, he was not allowed to give up his right in favor of another, but a new distribution was to be made

Protests by Cadiz and Seville based on the ground that the galleons carried more cargo than allowed and that the great abundance of silk in America had caused the decline of the textile industry in Toledo Valencia Seville and Granada led to a royal decree on January 8 1718 prohibiting the carrying of silk woven or raw in the galleons from China The only trade which could be carried on was in linen goods porcelain wax cinnamon cloves and other goods which were not brought from Spain ¹

More petitions came from Manila but by the elaborate royal decree of October 27 1720 the decree of 1718 was confirmed in effect and forbade the exportation of silk fabrics Finally the royal decree of June 17, 1724, repealed that of 1720 and allowed once more the importation of Chinese silk into New Spain An attempt on the part of the viceroy of Mexico to put a stop to this importation only resulted in the royal decree of April 8 1734 which besides allowing trade in silk increased the amount of trade permitted to Manila to five hundred thousand pesos of investment and to a million pesos of returns

The galleon trade continued during the rest of the eighteenth century The last galleon sailed from Manila in 1811, returning in 1815 After that the history of Philippine commerce is characterized by the opening of the country to foreign influence ²

Nature of the galleon trade The trade regulations just discussed constitute, in the opinion of Bourne, one of the most

¹ See Blair and Robertson *The Philippine Islands 1493-1898* Vol XLIV pp 266-268 and Vol XLV pp 57-59 The Arthur H. Clark Company Publishers

² See *ibid* Vol XLIV pp 27-312 Vol XLV pp 29-88 See also Manuel de Azcárraga y Palmero *La Libertad de Comercio en las Islas Filipinas*

peculiar features of the old regime in the Philippine Islands Jagor also speaks of their paramount interest

The oft mentioned voyages of the galleons betwixt Manila and Acapulco hold such a prominent position in the history of the Philippines, and afford such an interesting glimpse into the old colonial system, that their principal characteristics deserve some description¹

The galleon trade was a Spanish government monopoly conducted by royal officials, and its profits accrued to the benefit of the government, the officials including the clergy, and those deserving Spaniards whom the government desired to help or favor²

The right to ship was known as *boleta* or ticket, and there were as many boletas as divisions in the ship On the average there were fifteen hundred such divisions, each worth from two hundred to two hundred and twenty five pesos a good portion of which were given to the governor general the religious corporations, the regidores, the favorites and privileged and the widows of retired Spaniards Those who had no capital to invest in merchandise sold their boletas to the merchants — in spite of prohibition this practice continued with impunity The cargo consisting chiefly of Chinese and Indian silk and cotton cloths, and gold ornaments was sold at one hundred per cent profit in New Spain

Nearly all the merchants secured loans from the *Obras Pias*, funds donated for pious purposes two thirds of which were lent at interest (for Acapulco 50 per cent, for China, 25 per cent, for India, 35 per cent) and the rest formed the reserve

The³ principal employ of these funds has been in the commerce to Acapulco, and from the facility with which capital was procured

¹ Feodor Jagor *Travels in the Philippines* in Craig's *The Former Philippines through Foreign Eyes* Philippine Education Company 1916

² See Blair and Robertson *The Philippine Islands 1493-1898* Vol VIII pp 255 256 The Arthur H Clark Company Publishers

³ II I Vol LI p 149

the excessive gambling spirit which this introduced as well as the system of mutual accommodations from the trustees of different funds and the utter absence of the wholesome restraint of public examinations of their accounts it has resulted that more harm than good has been done by these establishments. The original intentions are entirely perverted a few small sums being lent to young adventurers (when they have powerful friends) but far the greatest part is employed by the trustees themselves under the name of a relation or friend.

Besides merchandise and silver the galleons transported the official correspondence arms troops, missionaries, and public officials. The officers of the galleon were highly paid the commander who had the title of general, made ₱40 000 per voyage the pilot about ₱20 000 and the mates ₱9000 each. Most of the crew were natives.¹

It is represented that the seamen are allowed to carry each 30 pesos worth of goods as a private investment, in order to encourage Spaniards to enter the marine service, but this ought to be increased to 300 pesos (the allowance made to the men on the fleets that go to the Indies), for more Spaniards are needed on the Acapulco trade route — hardly one third of the men on the galleon being of Spanish birth the rest being Indians — and on the rivera of Cavite.²

Frauds by government officials in the loading of goods nepotism and favoritism characterized the administration of the galleon trade.³

Routes of early trade In the early days of the trade the galleons used to leave Cavite (Fig 32) in July and sail with a southwesterly wind beyond the tropics until they met with a

¹ See Joaquín Martínez de Zúñiga *Estadismo de las Islas Filipinas* Madrid 1893. See also José Montero y Vidal *Historia General de Filipinas* chap xxviii 1887.

west wind at the thirty-eighth or fortieth parallel. Later on the vessels were ordered to leave Cavite with the first southwesterly winds, to sail along the south coast of Luzon, through San Bernardino strait, and to continue along the thirteenth parallel of north latitude as far to the east as possible, until the northeasterly trade wind compelled them to seek a northwest breeze

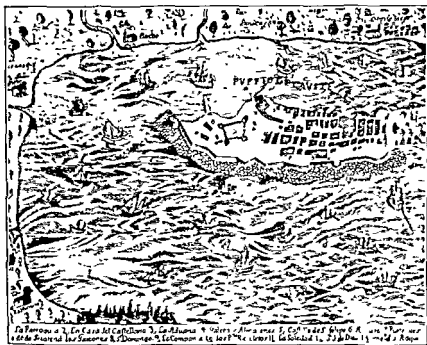


FIG 32. MAP OF CAVITE AND MANILA BAY
Engraved in 1734. (Courtesy of Dr. Pardo de Tavera)

in higher latitudes. They were then obliged to try the thirtieth parallel as long as possible, instead of the thirty-seventh, as formerly. The captain of the galleon was not permitted to sail immediately northward, although to have done so would have procured him a much quicker and safer passage, and would have enabled him to reach the rainy zone more rapidly. To effect the last, indeed, was a matter of the greatest importance to him, for his vessel, overladen with merchandise,

had little room left for water and he was instructed to depend upon the rain he caught on the voyage although he had a crew of from four to six hundred hands to provide for. The galleon was provided with suitable mats and bamboo pails for collecting the rain water.

Owing to the inconstancy of the winds voyages in these low latitudes were extremely troublesome and often lasted five months or more. The fear of exposing the costly cumbersome vessels to the powerful and sometimes stormy winds of the higher latitudes appears to have been the reason for these sailing orders.

The return voyage to the Philippines was an easy one and occupied only from forty to sixty days. The galleons left Acapulco in February or March sailed southwards till they fell in with the trade wind (at about ten degrees north latitude) which carried them easily to the Ladrone Islands and reached Manila by way of Samar. In Morga's time the galleons took seventy days to the Ladrone Islands from ten to twelve from there to Cape Espiritu Santo and eight more to Manila.¹

What were the effects of the Manila Acapulco trade upon the economic growth of the Philippines? There are two answers to this question.

Beneficial effects of the galleon trade. On the one hand those who believe that the policy of restriction was necessary to protect the industries of Spain say of course that such a policy was beneficial. They allege further that no other economic activity was possible during the early part of Spanish domination because at the time there were no products of the country which would serve as the basis of a rich and flourishing commerce and there was no capital sufficient to exploit the natural resources. To show that Manila benefited by acting as a distributing point for Oriental goods they cite the prosperity of Singapore and Hongkong which was due to the

¹ Adapted from Ford, *Journal of the Philippine Historical Society*, Vol. 1, p. 10.

fact that they acted as *entrepôts* of the East. The very retention of the Philippines depended upon its ability to support itself in part, and profits from the trade as a whole made that possible¹

Harmful effects of the galleon trade. On the other hand, there are some who think that the galleon trade hindered the economic progress of the country and changed the attitude of the people toward economic enterprises

In the first place, the galleon trade absorbed too much attention on the part of many Spaniards. The second archbishop of the Philippines complained of this condition to the king, saying

that it is a most pitiable thing that there is not a man in all these Philipinas Islands — Spaniard, or of any other nation — saving some religious, who make their principal aim and intent the conversion of these heathen, or the increase of the Christian faith, but they are only moved by their own interests and seek to enrich themselves, and if it happened that the welfare of the natives was an obstacle to this they would not hesitate, if they could, to kill them all in exchange for their own temporal profit. And since this is so, what can your Majesty expect will happen if this continues? From this inordinate greed arises the violation of your Majesty's decrees and mandates, as everyone is a merchant and trader — and none more so than the governor, who has this year brought ruin upon the country. If I were to go into the multitude of evils which are connected with this, I should have to proceed *ad infinitum*

Then, Philippine extractive industries, especially agriculture, were neglected because of the galleon trade. On this point Morga wrote

This² trade and commerce is so great and profitable, and easy to control — for it only lasts three months in the year, from the time

¹ See Manuel de Azcárraga y Palmero, *La Libertad de Comercio en las Islas Filipinas* pp 81-95. Madrid 1871

² Blair and Robertson *The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898* Vol X p 145
The Arthur H. Clark Company Publishers ³ *Ibid* Vol XVI p 187

of the arrival of the ships with their merchandise, until those vessels that go to Nueva España take that merchandise — that the Spaniards do not apply themselves to, or engage in, any other industry. Consequently, there is no husbandry or field labor worthy of consideration. Neither do the Spaniards work the gold mines or placers, which are numerous. They do not engage in many other industries that they could turn to with great profit, if the Chinese trade should fail them. That trade has been very hurtful and prejudicial in this respect as well as for the occupations and farm industries in which the natives used to engage. Now the latter are abandoning and forgetting those labors. Besides, there is the great harm and loss resulting from the immense amount of silver that passes annually by this way [of the trade], into the possession of infidels which can never, by any way, return into the possession of the Spaniards.

Bourne pointed out that the galleon trade as restricted did not prevent the decadence of Spanish industry, that it enriched only a few in Manila, and that it was detrimental to the economic progress not only of the Philippines but also of Mexico. He wrote

By this system for two centuries the South American market for manufactures was reserved exclusively for Spain, but the protection did not prevent Spanish industry from decay and did retard the well being and progress of South America.¹ Between Mexico and the Philippines a limited trade was allowed, the profits of which were the perquisites of the Spaniards living in the Philippines and contributed to the religious endowments. But this monopoly was of no permanent advantage to the Spanish residents. It was too much like stock jobbing, and sapped all spirit of industry. Zúñiga says that the commerce made a few rich in a short time and with little labor, but they were very few, that there were hardly five Spaniards in Manila worth \$100,000, nor a hundred worth \$40,000, the rest either lived on the King's pay or in poverty. "Every morning one could see in the streets of Manila, in the greatest poverty

¹ Blair and Robertson *The Philippine Islands 1493-1898*, Vol I pp 67-68
The Arthur H. Clark Company, Publishers

and asking alms, the sons of men who had made a fine show and left much money, which their sons had squandered because they had not been well trained in youth' The great possibilities of Manila as an *entrepôt* of the Asiatic trade were unrealized, for although the city enjoyed open trade with the Chinese, Japanese, and other orientals, it was denied to Europeans and the growth of that conducted by the Chinese and others was always obstructed by the lack of return cargoes owing to the limitations placed upon the trade with America and to the disinclination of the Filipinos to work to produce more than was enough to insure them a comfortable living and pay their tributes. That the system was detrimental to the economic progress of the islands was always obvious and its evils were repeatedly demonstrated by Spanish officials. Further it was not only detrimental to the prosperity of the islands but it obstructed the development of Mexico.

The galleon trade is given as the reason for the Spaniards' neglect of all the other commercial advantages in the Philippines.

When, without risking any capital of his own, the merchant might thus share the enormous profits of this trade, with no more exertion than signing the invoices and letters (they were written by Indian clerks), and receiving the treasure on the return of the vessel it is not surprising that for nearly two centuries they neglected all the other commercial advantages which surrounded them, or that such a commerce produced such merchants. The history of it and of them for that period may be confined to a few words — they were agents of the merchants of Madras and Bengal receiving and shipping their goods, and returning their proceeds, while their profits were confined to a large commission on them.¹

Another unfavorable effect of this trade was that it attracted the Spaniards into Manila and thus left the rest of the country without the benefit of whatever good they could have done. In Cebu there was at one time not a sufficient number

¹ Blair and Robertson *The Philippine Islands 1493-1898* Vol. LI p. 150
The Arthur H. Clark Company Publishers

of persons to fill the offices of alcalde and regidores and it was necessary to assign to the city a few boletas from Manila¹

Lastly it has been claimed that the absence of productive development checked the growth of Philippine population

From the early part of the seventeenth century until 1837 the Philippines were in the grasp of a protective monopoly which not only prevented the productive development of the soil but kept the Filipinos down to those necessarily restricted numbers which attend a population that raises nothing in excess of its daily needs² If there is one thing to be learned from this and every other study of increase of population in a fertile and tropical country it is that population increases in exact proportion to the agricultural production and export

Spanish dislike of industries Not everything however is to be attributed to the influence of the galleon trade a good deal of the neglect of the country's natural resources was due to Spanish dislike of industrial activity As early as 1590 Bishop Salazar complained of this attitude when he wrote to the King

But your Majesty should know that when a man comes to this country even if he were a beggar in Spain here he seeks to be a gentleman and is not willing to work but desires to have all serve him and so no one will give himself to labor but undertakes trafficking in merchandise and for this reason military and all other kinds of training have been forgotten³ From this fact not a little damage will come to this land if the governor does not regulate these

Almost two centuries later a royal fiscal in Manila Francisco Leandro de Viana criticized the same mental attitude The⁴ Spaniards he said do not go out of Manila where all are

See Manuel de Azcárraga y Palmero *La Libertad de Comercio en las Islas Filipinas* p 68 Madrid 1871

¹ Census of the Philippine Islands 1903 Vol I p 247

² Blair and Robertson *The Philippine Islands 1493-1898* Vol VII pp 255 256 The Arthur H Clark Company Publishers

⁴ *Ibid* Vol XLVIII p 243

gentlemen, they regard it as unworthy to devote themselves to any other pursuit than commerce" Azcarraga explains that characteristic by saying that the eight centuries of continuous struggle to drive out the Moors from Spain created a chivalrous spirit and a love of risky undertakings, the discovery of the New World furnished a wide sphere of action to that adventurous spirit, and the resulting emigration to the newly discovered lands depopulated the peninsula to such an extent that labor could be had neither for the factories nor for agriculture. The precious metals coming to Spain from Mexico and Peru made the Spaniards easy going and indolent. All desired to take the sword and enjoy the spoils of conquest. Roscher says in explanation of the Spanish attitude toward industrial labor

All thrifty activity was regarded as despicable¹. No trader had a seat in the Cortes of Aragon. As late as 1781 the Academy of Madrid was obliged to offer as the subject for a prize essay the proposition that there was nothing derogatory in the useful arts. Every tradesman and manufacturer sought only to make enough money to enable him to live on the interest of it or to establish a trust fund for his family. If he was successful he either entered a cloister or went to another province in order to pass for a noble. In Cervantes we find the maxim "Whoever wishes to make his fortune seeks the church, the sea (i. e., service in America) or the king's house". The highest ambition of the nation in its golden age was to be to Europe just what the nobility, the clergy and the army were to single nations. Consequently there was an enormous preponderance of personal service in the industrial organism and much of this was purely for ostentation. Nowhere in the world were there so many nobles, so many officers, civil and military, so many lawyers and clerks, priests and monks, so many students and school boys, with their servants. But as truly, nowhere in the world were there so many beggars and vagabonds.

¹ Wilhelm Roscher *The Spanish Colonial System* Henry Holt and Company 1904

The duty on Chinese merchandise was increased to 6 per cent in 1606. So far as they affected the commerce of the Philippines, the customs duties during most of the period of restrictions were as follows: (1) 15 per cent on all goods from Spain or New Spain sent to the Philippines, 5 per cent payable on the departure of the vessel from the home port and 10 per cent on arrival in the islands, except on wines which paid 10 per cent at the beginning and another 10 per cent at the end of the voyage; (2) 3 per cent on all goods imported into the islands from any other sources except on merchandise imported by Chinese which paid 6 per cent; (3) 10 per cent upon all Chinese and other Asiatic wares exported to New Spain, and (4) 3 per cent on all other goods exported from the islands.¹ In addition to these duties there were port and anchorage duties which were mainly contributed by the Chinese junks.

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QUESTIONS AND TOPICS FOR FURTHER STUDY

- 1 Show the relation between Spanish mercantilism and trade restrictions in the Philippines
- 2 What arguments were advanced by Manila against restrictions? (References Nos 3 4 6 7)
- 3 What restrictions were imposed on Philippine trade? Describe the galleon trade (References Nos 3 5 6 7 6 8 12 13 14)
- 4 What were the favorable effects of the galleon trade? unfavorable?
- 5 What was the Spanish attitude toward industries? Why?
- 6 Were there any benefits resulting from lack of economic exploitation? (Reference No 14)
- 7 Compare the Spanish colonial policy with that of other colonizing powers (References Nos 14 16)
- 8 Did the Spanish attitude toward industries influence the Filipino attitude? Explain Is it reasonable to attribute Filipino indifference to business undertakings in part to the influence of the Spanish attitude?

CHAPTER X

POPULATION, SOCIAL PROGRESS, AND LABOR

I POPULATION AND IMMIGRATION

Population about 1600 From the earliest extensive printed historical account of the Philippines, the *Relacion de las Islas Filipinas*, published in 1604 by Father Pedro Chirino, we learn of the number and condition of the Filipinos at the beginning of the seventeenth century. Chirino says that the regions

named and best populated were "Manila, Mindoro, Luban, Marinduque, Isla de Fuegos, Isla de Negros, Guimarás, Isla de Cabras, Masbate, Capul, Ibavao (Leyte), Bohol, Panay, Cagayán, Cuyo, Calamianes, Paranan," "without mentioning some of less importance, although populated, some small and others of good size"¹

Chirino's descriptions show that Leyte and the west coast of Samar were the most populous parts of the Visayan Islands, with the exception of southern Panay. During his time the Moro raids in the Visayan Islands had already begun to affect the increase of population.

Population about 1650. By the middle of the seventeenth century, the population had increased only slightly. The parish returns of the religious orders give an idea of the population at this time, for example, the Tagalog and Bicol regions were under the religious jurisdiction of the Franciscans, and from a report of 1648,² we learn of the conditions of population around Manila. The village of Dilao (the present Paco in Manila) had 300 tributes,³ or 1200 persons, the convent of

¹ Census of the Philippine Islands 1903 Vol I, p 425

² See W. E. Retana, *Archivo del Bibliófilo Filipino*, Vol I

³ It was estimated that one tribute corresponded to a family of four persons

Our Lady of Loreto of San Palok (Sampaloc) had 200 tributes, or 800 persons, and the same number were under the convent of Santa Ana de Sapa. North of Manila the convent of San Diego de Polo had 300 tributes, or 1200 souls; the convent of San Francisco de Meycauayan had 130 tributes, or 520 souls; and San Martin de Bocaue had 700 souls. The region around Laguna de Bay had little villages which became important towns: Santa Ursula de Binañgonan, with 150 souls; San Geronimo de Moron, 400; San Ildefonso de Tanay, 340; Santa Maria Magdalena de Pililla, 1200; San Antonio de Pila, 800; Santa Cruz, 600; San Francisco de Lumban, 2000; Santiago de Paete, 1000; La Natividad de Pañgol, 1800; San Pedro de Sinloan, 450; Santa Maria de Mabitac, 800; Santa Maria de Caboan, 450; San Bartolome de Nagcarlang, 2800; San Juan Bautista de Lilio, 1200; San Gregorio de Majayjay, 4000; San Salvador de Cavinti, 450; and San Juan de Lucban, 1600. The whole region had 22,440 souls, fewer than at the time of Salcedo's conquest, and less than half the population of 1591. In the same report the population of the Bicol region, from Paracale to the end of Albay, is given as 33,610. These figures give a clear idea of the growth of population.

Population about 1750. Father Delgado gives the Christianized population under the religious orders and the villages assigned to each about the middle of the eighteenth century:

	VILLAGES	SOULS
The clerics	142	147,260
Augustinians	115	252,063
Franciscans	63	141,103
Jesuits	93	209,527
Dominicans	51	99,780
Recollects	105	53,384
Total	560	904,116

It should be noted that this enumeration of Christians does not include visitas, groups of huts, or missions.¹

¹ See Blair and Robertson, *The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 180. The Arthur H. Clark Company, Publishers.

Population about 1800 The distribution of population toward the end of the eighteenth century, during the period of transition from the old missionary régime to the new and more liberal life of the nineteenth century, is best described by Father Joaquín Martínez de Zúñiga, the Augustinian historian, in his *Estadismo de las Islas Filipinas*¹ Upon the basis of four persons for every tribute, the population in 1800 (Fig 33), as given by him, was 1 561,251

Laguna had 58 912 — only 10,000 more than it had in the first enumeration of encomiendas in 1591 The population of the Laguna de Bay region, which at the time of the conquest was reported to be large, seems to have diminished in the years following the conquest The population of Batangas was beginning to increase, at this time it had 15 465 tributes, Taal alone having not fewer than 14,000 Mindoro, which had been depopulated by the ravages of the Moros, had in 1735 a Christian population of about 8000, which had increased to about 12,000 in Zúñiga's time Cavite, although near Manila and containing fertile valleys, had been slow in growing, in 1735 there had been only 1211 tributes, and in Zúñiga's time there were 5724 tributes and 859 mestizos

North of Manila Zúñiga noted a lively commerce in Bulacan and Pampanga along the streams which flow into Manila Bay Tambobong, or Malabon, was then quite a center of trade and population "Formerly it was hardly more than a little rancheria of fishers, dependent upon the pueblo of Tondo, but now has about 3000 tributes, or 15,000 souls,"¹ says Zúñiga "Half of them are Indians and the other half Chinese mestizos"¹ It is apparent from his description of central Luzon that the region where Nueva Ecija and Tarlac are today was then almost unpopulated Its few settlements were missions, the nearest to Manila being Mabalacat with 124 tributes, or a population of about 600 Pampanga used to

¹ See Joaquín Martínez de Zúñiga *Estadismo de las Islas Filipinas* Madrid 1893

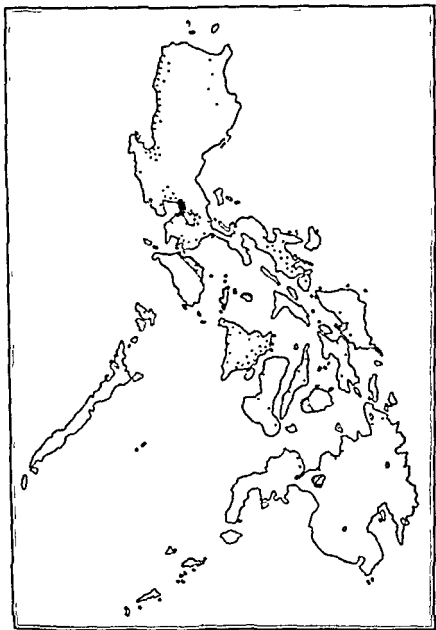


FIG. 33 DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION ABOUT 1800, ACCORDING TO ZÚÑIGA

Shading indicates a population of unknown density. Dots indicate a population of known density, each dot representing 10,000 people

include all the territory from Bulacan to "the missions of Cagayan and its mountains" ¹ Says Zúñiga.

Upper Pampanga [meaning thereby Nueva Ecija of today] is very little populated, but the lower part of the province has a numerous population, as have all the lands which are around the Bay of Manila within tide water ¹ In the year 1738 this province had 9275 tributes of Indians and 870 of Chinese mestizos. In the year 1799 this province had 16,604½ tributes of Indians and 2641 of mestizos, and it is to be noted that at that time more than 3000 tributes had been separated to form the province of Bataan.

On the eastern part of Pangasinan was the mission of Tayug, with its tributary chapel of San Nicolas, which had 279 tributes. There were also other missions. Pantabañgan with 56 houses, and Carranglan with 82. In Zambales 1136 tributes were reported. The increase of population on this coast was retarded by Moro pirates.

According to Zúñiga's estimate, the archbishopric of Manila, consisting of Tondo, Cavite, Laguna, Pangasinan, Mindoro, Bulacan, Pampanga, Bataan, and Zambales had about 500,000 souls including the Chinese mestizos, who paid 10,517 tributes. In 1735 the total number of tributes was only 37,408, showing a population probably not exceeding 175,000.

The bishopric of Nueva Segovia consisted of the three Ilocano provinces, Pangasinan, and Cagayan. The Ilocano provinces had, in the enumeration of 1735, only 10,041 tributes, including Chinese mestizos, and in the year 1800 there were 44,836 tributes of Filipinos and 631 of mestizos — the population thus increasing in sixty-five years from 50,000 to nearly a quarter of a million. Of Pangasinan Zúñiga says

In the time of the conquest there were very few people in Pangasinan, as can be seen from ancient and modern enumerations. ¹ In the year 1735 they found in the province (including Zambales, which was afterwards separated and formed a province apart with

¹ Joaquín Martínez de Zúñiga, *Estadístico de las Islas Filipinas*. Madrid, 1893

1209 tributes) only 14,661 tributes, and to-day there are numbered, between mestizos and natives, 20,556, which is a prodigious increase when we consider the many who died in the insurrection and those who have been removed from Zambales.

The population of Cagayan had not increased so rapidly as that of the other provinces. It had 7036 tributes in 1735 and 9888 tributes in 1800, thus showing fewer tributes than in the enumeration of 1591.

The bishopric of Nueva Cáceres comprised Camarines Norte, Camarines Sur, Albay, the islands of Ticao, Masbate, and Catanduanes, the province of Tayabas, and the narrow eastern valley of Luzon, including Mauban, Baler, Binañongan and Casiguran. The total population of this bishopric was nearly 40,000 tributes, or 200,000 people.

The bishopric of Cebu included Samar, Panay, Cebu, Leyte, Bohol, northern Mindanao, and the remainder of the Philippines. In all these islands there were 8114 tributes in 1735, or not more than 40,000 Christianized natives. At the time of Zúñiga the population was 20,812½ tributes of Indians and 625 of mestizos, or about 100,000 persons. Samar province had 3042 tributes of Filipinos and 13 mestizos, or about 12,000 persons. Of Leyte Zúñiga wrote:

The tributes of the whole province are 6678 Indians and 37 mestizos.¹ If we add the Indians and mestizos of Samar it makes a sum of 10,860 tributes. In the year 1735 these two islands (of Leyte and Samar) made one province and had 11,331 tributes, from which can be seen that the people of these islands in place of increasing have diminished. No other reason need be sought for this than the incursions of the Moros, who, concealed in the many little bays, have made many ravages upon all the pueblos.

On the eastern coast of Mindanao was the old Spanish post, Caraga, which in 1735 had 1357 tributes, and in 1800 had 3497. The other Mindanao Spanish posts were Misamis and

¹ Joaquín Martínez de Zúñiga, *Estadístico de las Islas Filipinas*. Madrid, 1893.

the fishermen and gardeners who live in this neighborhood number according to the Dominican fathers who have them in charge from six to seven thousand souls

The Chinese population increased so rapidly that it was reported there were about twenty five thousand of them massacred in the Chinese insurrection of 1603

Early economic importance of Chinese settlements All early accounts state that the Chinese who settled in the Philippines after the Spanish occupation soon gained considerable control of the economic life of Manila. Bishop Domingo de Salazar gives a description of the Parian and its inhabitants

This Parian has so adorned the city that I do not hesitate to affirm to your Majesty that no other known city in Espana or in these regions possesses anything so well worth seeing as this for in it can be found the whole trade of China with all kinds of goods and curious things which come from that country¹ In this Parian are to be found workmen of all trades and handicrafts This Parian is provided with doctors and apothecaries who post in their shops placards printed in their own language announcing what they have to sell There are also many eating houses where the Sangleys and the natives take their meals and I have been told that these are frequented even by Spaniards

Salazar admired the Chinese cleverness and dexterity in all kinds of handiwork he said that they perfected themselves in the various arts and

produced marvelous work with both the brush and the chisel and I think that nothing more perfect could be produced than some of their marble statues of the Child Jesus which I have seen¹ The churches are beginning to be furnished with the images which the Sangleys make and which we greatly lacked before

The Chinese also did excellent work in embroidery A book binder from Mexico came to Manila but his trade was quickly

¹ Blair and Robertson *The Philippine Islands 1493-1898* Vol VII pp 24 6 The Arthur H Clark Company Publishers

taken away from him by his Chinese apprentice, who set up his own bindery, excelling his master Salazar continues

There are many gardeners among the Sangleyes, who in places which seemed totally unproductive are raising many good vegetables of the kinds that grow in España and in Mexico¹ They keep the market here as well supplied as that of Madrid or Salamanca They make chairs, bridles and stirrups of so good a quality and so cheaply that some merchants wish to load a cargo of these articles for Mexico

Many bakers make bread with the wheat and fine flour which they bring from China, and sell it in the market place and along the streets This has much benefited the city, for they make good bread and sell it at low cost, and although this land possesses much rice, many now use bread who did not do so before They are so accommodating that when one has no money to pay for the bread, they give him credit and mark it on a tally It happens that many soldiers get food this way all through the year and the bakers never fail to provide them with all the bread they need This has been a great help for the poor of this city for had they not found this refuge they would suffer want The Sangleyes sell meat of animals raised in this country, as swine deer and carabaos They also sell many fowls and eggs and if they did not sell them we all would suffer want They are so intent upon making a livelihood that even split wood is sold in the Parian The city finds most of its sustenance in the fish which these Sangleyes sell they catch so much of it every day that the surplus is left in the streets and they sell it at so low cost that for one real one can buy a sufficient quantity of fish to supply dinner and supper for one of the leading houses in the city

Among the benefits received by Manila from the Chinese was their work as stone masons and makers of bricks and lime, they were so industrious and worked so cheaply that the Spaniards "are able to build fine houses of hewn stone at a low cost"¹ It is wonderful to see with what rapidity many

¹ Blair and Robertson *The Philippine Islands 1493-1898* Vol VII pp 227-29 The Arthur H. Clark Company, Iulihers

sumptuous houses, churches, monasteries, hospitals, and a fort are being built" The effect on Spanish industries however, was disastrous Bishop Salazar said that because people bought their clothes from the Sangleys, who made everything at low cost, the handicrafts of the Spaniards died out

The power of the Chinese soon manifested itself in their ability to control the public officials Governor Nino de Tavora reported to the king

They are as freehanded in their bribes as interested in their gains¹ As they have control of all the merchandise trading gains, and mechanical trades of the country, their extreme readiness to scatter bribes is remarkable There is no Spaniard secular or religious who obtains his food clothing or shoes, except through them Consequently there is scarce a Sangley who does not have his protector

In 1603 the Chinese of Manila revolted, and about twenty five thousand of them were massacred As a result there was no Chinese labor available and no Chinese goods could be bought The economic crisis resulting from this situation is another indication of the important rôle the Chinese had assumed since the decadence of Filipino industry Morga thus explains that crisis and the mental attitude of the Spaniards at the time

After the end of the war the need of the city began, for because of not having Sangleys who worked at the trades, and brought in all provisions there was no food, nor any shoes to wear, not even at excessive prices² The native Indians are very far from exercising those trades, and have even forgotten much of farming and raising of fowls cattle and cotton and the weaving of cloth which they used to do in the days of their paganism and for a long time after the conquest of the country In addition to this, people thought that Chinese vessels would not come to the islands with food and merchandise, on account of the late revolution Above

¹ Blair and Robertson *The Philippine Islands 1493-1898* Vol XXII p 250
The Arthur H Clark Company Publishers ² *Ibid* Vol XVI, pp 42 43

all they lived *not* without fear and suspicion that, instead of the merchant vessels an armed fleet would attack Manila, in order to avenge the death of their Sangleys. All conspired to sadden the minds of the Spaniards.¹

Later Chinese immigration The Spaniards had always endeavored to limit the number of Chinese coming to the Philippines, for as early as 1574 the Spanish sense of security had been disturbed by the attack of Limahon, and the insurrection of 1603 enhanced this feeling of fear and suspicion. But economic necessity forced the Spaniards to admit the Chinese, although in limited numbers and in order to attract them back after the massacre of 1603, they even returned part of the confiscated Chinese property.

From the fiscal's letter to the king we learn the number of Chinese coming to Manila and the number of those who remained without license by the city cabildo.

In the year sixteen hundred and four, there were 457, and in the year sixteen hundred and five they had increased to 1648 as is shown by the official statement which I enclose.² From this it will be seen that during this said year of sixteen hundred and five there came from China 3977, and that 3687 returned, so that 290 remained here, making with those of the previous year a total of 747. There actually remained 1648, hence it is evident that, besides those who were registered, 901 came here. This has been done by granting licenses to many to live and make their abode outside of the city, among the mountains and in other places where they easily receive those who disembark before the vessel has come here, or after the ships have set out on their return voyage.

In view of this rapid increase owing to the officials' desire to receive the license fees paid by the Chinese for the privilege of remaining a royal decree of 1606, repromulgated in 1620 and

¹ See Blair and Robertson *The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898* Vol XIII, pp 223-224, Vol XIV p 70 and Vol XVI pp 295 296 The Arthur H Clark Company Publishers

² See *ibid* Vol XIV pp 38 50

³ *Ibid* Vol XIV pp 150-151

1622, limited the number of Chinese in the Philippines to 6000. The same decree was careful to provide that "commerce and relationship shall be continued" and that the limitation "shall not be any reason for not treating them well"¹. That this limitation was hard to enforce is the testimony of Morga, who said

In order to remedy all the above, it was ordered that the vessels should not bring so many people of this kind, under penalties that are executed that when the vessels return to China they take these Sangleys back with them that only a convenient number of merchants remain in Manila in the Parian and the mechanics of all necessary trades and that these must have written license under severe penalties². In the execution of this an auditor of the Audiencia is engaged by special commission every year together with some assistants. On petition of the city cabildo he usually allows as many Sangleys to remain as are necessary for the service of all trades and occupations. The rest are embarked and compelled to return in the vessels going to China and a great deal of force and violence is necessary to accomplish it.

In 1621 Archbishop Serrano reported to the king

There are at present more than sixteen thousand Chinese in this city of Manila who have received license to stay in the country³. In addition about one third as many generally remain without having a license, so that on good computation, there are now more Chinese in the country than there were sixteen and a half years ago, when they revolted and made war on us.

He explains that this is the reason why the Spaniards could not go out of Manila to pursue the Dutch and other enemies. He also gives the reason for the rapid increase of Chinese in spite of ordinances limiting their number, namely

the³ greed for the eight pesos that each one pays for the license to remain in the country, and the excessive profits gained by the

¹ Blair and Robertson *The Philippine Islands 1493-1898* Vol. XXII pp. 157-158. The Arthur H. Clark Company Publishers.

² *Ibid* Vol. XVI pp. 195-196.

³ *Ibid* Vol. XX pp. 96-97.

numerous agents of justice whom the governors have introduced, unnecessarily and in violation of what your Majesty has so piously ruled and ordained.

In 1639 the Chinese population had risen to between 30,000 and 40,000, but this year saw another Chinese revolt, which resulted in the reduction of the Chinese population to 7000. One cause of this revolt was the decision of Governor Sebastián Hurtado de Corcuera (1635-1644) not to send the galleon to Acapulco in 1638, because in passing through Mexico he had found so much cloth from Manila stored in the warehouses; as a result, the Chinese found less silver in the Philippines than their business required. Another cause of Chinese discontent was the excessive contributions levied on them, in money and supplies, to meet the expenses of so many armed fleets and the wars.¹

New immigrants soon took the place of those killed in 1639. The Philippines were again threatened by Chinese invasion in 1662, when Kue-Sing, a famous Chinese pirate, demanded the submission of the Islands, and to that end sent a Dominican missionary to Manila. The Spaniards and Filipinos were alarmed; preparations for defending the city were hastily made, and the Chinese were ordered to leave the country. This action so angered the Chinese that they revolted. They were soon repulsed by the artillery and later quieted by a proclamation allowing them to remain. Many Christian Chinese decided to remain. The death of Kue-Sing, however, before the Spanish reply reached him, saved the Philippines from another Chinese invasion.

Toward the end of the seventeenth century about 6000 Chinese were reported in the Philippines. In 1709 there was another order expelling them, with the exception of those artisans who were essential to the life of the community and

¹ See Blair and Robertson, *The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898*, Vol. XXIX, pp. 208-258. The Arthur H. Clark Company, Publishers.

those employed by the government Spanish writers praise these measures alleging that "under the pretense of agriculture the Chinese carry on trade, they are cunning and careful, making money and sending it to China so that they defraud the Philippines annually of an enormous amount" ¹ Foreign authors however complain that art trade and commerce had not recovered from these severe blows fortunately, however the Chinese are returning through the corrupt connivance of the governor and officials ¹

The eighteenth century may be regarded as the era of expulsions of Chinese just as the seventeenth century may be considered the era of Chinese massacres The main reason for expelling the Chinese was their monopoly of trade, which deprived the Filipinos of an important means of earning their living at least such is the explanation which generally appears in the royal decrees issued ²

A decree of 1744 again ordered the expulsion of the Chinese, this decree was repromulgated in later years After the English had invaded Manila in 1762, there were more decrees issued, expelling the Chinese who sided with the enemy The stream of Chinese immigration, however, before long flowed back into Manila, and "appropriated nearly all the retail trade" to itself

Racial amalgamation From the enumerations of population already discussed in which the Chinese mestizos in each community were separately listed, we get an idea of how Filipino population was affected by admixture with the Chinese In Manila (especially in the districts of Tondo, Binondo, and Santa Cruz) and in the provinces near it (such as Bulacan and Pampanga), the importance and wealth of the Chinese were particularly apparent

¹ Teodor Jagor *Travels in the Philippines* in Craig's *The Former Philippines through Foreign Eyes* Philippine Education Company, 1916

² See Miguel Rodríguez Berriz *Diccionario de la Administración de Filipinas* 1888

Here, perhaps more than elsewhere in the Philippines, the Chinese settled as residents and colonizers of the country, intermarrying with native families, and becoming the possessors of estates and properties and the controllers of commerce¹

That the union of the Chinese and the Filipino produced a progressive social type is the testimony of early writers. San Antonio described this new type in 1738

At the present time, all this archipelago, and especially these islands of the Tagalogs, are full of another race of mestizos, who were not found at the first discovery, whom we call Sangley mestizos, who are descended from Indian women and Chinese men² For since trade with them [i. e., the Sangleys] has been and is, so frequent, and so many remain in these islands under pretext of trade, and they are the ones who supply these islands with clothing, food, and other products, those who have mixed with the Indian women in marriage are numerous, and for this purpose they become Christians, and from them have resulted so many mestizos that one cannot count them. They are all Christians, and quite commonly well disposed, and very industrious and civilized. They take pride in imitating the Europeans in everything, but their imitation is only a copy. They inhabit the same villages with the Tagalogs, but are not reckoned with them, since for the reckoning of the king they belong to a different body. The women are more like the Sangleys or Chinese, but the men not so much, however, these inherit from them ambition, in their continual industry.

Japanese immigration. We have already discussed the early trade relations between Japan and the Philippines. With this trade there came to Manila many Japanese merchants, although, according to Morga, they were not so numerous as the Chinese.

Those³ who become Christians prove very good, and are very devout and observant in their religion, for only the desire for

¹ Census of the Philippine Islands 1903 Vol. I p. 489

² Blair and Robertson *The Philippine Islands 1493-1898* Vol. XL pp. 301-302

³ The Arthur H. Clark Company Publishers

⁴ *Ibid.* Vol. XVI pp. 198-199

salvation incites them to adopt our religion, so that there are many Christians in Japon Accordingly they return freely, and without opposition to their own country At most there are about five hundred Japanese of this nation in Manila, for they do not go to other parts of the islands and such is their disposition that they return to Japon and do not tarry in the islands consequently very few of them usually remain in the islands They are treated very cordially as they are a race that demand good treatment and it is advisable to do so for the friendly relations between the islands and Japon

In 1619 according to Hernando de los Rios Coronel, "about two thousand Japanese generally reside in that city, and as trading ships come annually many Japanese remain there"¹ In 1621 Archbishop Serrano reported that the number of Japanese in Manila exceeded three thousand

The Japanese had their special settlement assigned to them, between the Sangley Parian and the suburb of Laguo (Paco) near the monastery of La Candelaria de Dilao 'Japanese Christians are ministered to in that convent, and have their own Japanese minister'²

The Spaniards in Manila were generally more fearful of Japanese attacks than of danger from the Chinese, for it was acknowledged by all that the Japanese were a spirited brave warlike race who would not suffer ill treatment, and who *sometimes rose in revolt* The Japanese insurrection of 1606 has been described by Morga The Audiencia wished to drive a number of Japanese from the city on account of their turbulence, but when this was attempted and force employed, the Japanese resisted, even to the point of taking arms It was necessary for the Spaniards also to take arms, and some on each side wished to give battle This was postponed by various means, however, until the Japanese were quieted through the

¹ Blair and Robertson *The Philippine Islands 1493-1898* Vol XVIII p 308 The Arthur H Clark Company, Publishers

² *Ibid* Vol XXXV, p 279

strenuous efforts of certain of the religious. Afterward as many Japanese as possible were embarked in vessels, although they resented it greatly.

This was one of the greatest dangers that has threatened Manila, for the Spaniards were few in number, and the Japanese more than one thousand five hundred, and they are a spirited and very mettlesome race¹. Had they come to blows on this occasion, the Spaniards would have fared ill.

The insurrection of 1607 resulted in the loss of many lives on both sides. The immediate cause of this insurrection was the arbitrary measure issued by the governor general ordering all the Japanese to work in the suburbs of Manila.*

Why Japanese immigration stopped. Undoubtedly the Japanese like the Chinese would have continued to come to the Philippines, settling here and taking an important part in the economic life of this country, had not the activities of the Christian missionaries in Japan, together with their political designs against that empire, brought about the adoption of a policy of isolation on the part of Japan early in the seventeenth century. As a phase of this policy of isolation the Christians in Japan were persecuted. Beginning in 1638 Japan was closed to Europeans for over two hundred years. During these two centuries Japan was cut off from the rest of the world.

Spanish immigration. The Spanish occupation was followed by intermarriage between the Spaniard and the Filipino, and produced its effect in modifying to some extent the racial type of the population. Few of the Spaniards who came to the Philippines during the early years left descendants. A letter written by a Spanish sea captain in the last years of the sixteenth century states that "the country is very unwhole

¹ Blair and Robertson *The Philippine Islands 1493-1898* Vol. XVI p. 61. The Arthur H. Clark Company, Publishers.

* See Manuel de Azcárraga y Palmero *La Libertad de Comercio en las Islas Filipinas*, chap. VIII. Madrid 1871.

some for us Spaniards, for within these twenty years, of the 14,000 which have gone to the Philippines, there are 13 000 of them dead, and not past 1000 of them left alive" ¹

With the exception of the religious orders there were very few Spaniards in the Philippines until the latter half of the nineteenth century. In his *Estadismo de las Islas Filipinas*,² Martínez de Zúñiga gives the proportion of mixed Spanish blood in the Philippines at the beginning of that century. In the whole archipelago there were about 14,000 families, or tributes, in which there was Spanish blood, or a proportion of 4.8 per cent in a total Christian population of about 277,000 families. The number of mestizo families was greatest in the districts of Tondo, Pampanga, Bulacan, and Cavite. In these four districts there were respectively 3528, 2641, 2007, and 859 mestizo families, out of the total native and mestizo families numbering, respectively, 18,065, 19,245, 18,593, and 6583. The approximate percentages of mestizo families to the total number of families for the four districts were, respectively, 13.9, 13.7, 10.8, and 13. The proportion was small in Mindoro, Leyte, and Tayabas, there being only 12 mestizo families in the latter district out of a total of 7408. In Laguna there were 336 mestizo families out of a total of 14,728, and in Batangas, 451 out of a total of 15,465. In Iloilo, the proportion was only 166 mestizo families out of a total of 29,889. Cebu had 625 mestizo families out of a total of 21,437. This proportion of about 5 per cent of mixed Spanish blood remained substantially the same till the end of the Spanish regime.³

¹ Hakluyt *Voyages* (edition 1598-1600) Vol I, p. 560

² See Blair and Robertson *The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898*, Vol I p. 539 and Vol II pp. 31, 54, 113. The Arthur H. Clark Company, Publishers.

³ See "History of Population" in *Census of the Philippine Islands 1903* Vol I p. 479. The figures in this account cannot be accepted for the compiler in using Martínez de Zúñiga confused the number of native families with the total number of families. This latter figure is reached by adding together the number of native and mestizo families as given in the *Estadismo*.

II EDUCATIONAL AND SOCIAL PROGRESS

Colleges and schools Strange as it may seem to us today, the first educational institutions established by the Spaniards were for the higher branches of learning As early as 1601 ecclesiastical license was granted the order of the Jesuits to found the College of San Jose, which flourished and gave instruction in philosophy, theology, and the humanities until the expulsion of the Jesuits in 1768 Then it was virtually incorporated into the University of Santo Tomás, giving courses in medicine and pharmacy till the end of the Spanish regime

The University of Santo Tomas, established in 1611, was formally opened in 1619 It gave instruction in theology, philosophy, and the humanities, as well as the learned professions of those days According to its records, during the period from 1645 to 1734 it had an enrollment of 12,295 in philosophy and 2050 in theology, from 1734 to 1820 it had 12,250 in philosophy, 2190 in theology, 1680 in canon law, and 3360 in civil law, and in later years of the nineteenth century attendance increased considerably The influence of this university on the intellectual life of the Philippines has been great To quote a contemporary authority on education

After all indictments have been brought against the institution and after all adverse criticisms have been heard, the facts remain and will remain that the intellectual movement of the Filipino people was centralized in this university for centuries and that this institution, combining scientific interests with religion and patriotic interests, has been able to rise to the height required by the circumstances of the period, and has fulfilled the aspirations of all true lovers of Christian and Spanish civilization¹

Secondary instruction also was given in the two colleges of San Jose and Santo Tomás, but the oldest of all secondary

¹ Camilo O. Sias *Education in the Philippine Islands under the Spanish Régime* 1914

institutions is the College of San Juan de Letran which was started as an orphanage for boys by Juan Geronimo Guerrero in 1620 — in fact until 1706 it was called Seminary for Orphan Boys of Saint Peter and Saint Paul Primary as well as secondary instruction has been given in this institution since the beginning From early days schools and orphanages for girls also were established two of the oldest being the College of Santa Isabel established in 1632 and the College of Santa Catalina started in 1696 In these and others which served as retreats for girls many received Christian education

Primary education during the Spanish regime until the reforms of 1863 was directly in charge of the religious missionaries As early as 1550 one of the Laws of the Indies provided for the establishment of schools where Spanish should be taught¹ In instructions to Governor Francisco Tello de Guzman (1596-1602) it was ordered that the missionaries instead of learning the native languages should teach the natives Spanish¹ and in the seventeenth century at least three similar decrees were issued according to LeRoy² During the eighteenth century four royal decrees required Spanish to be taught in the schools and the Ordinances of Good Government ordered the alcaldes mayor to request the parish priests to build schools in all the villages³ Still another decree ordered that no other language than the Spanish should be used in the convents monasteries or in judicial extra judicial or domestic affairs⁴

The missionaries conducted the schools but did not comply with the order requiring the teaching to be in Spanish A French traveler Le Gentil writing in 1781 says

¹ See Blair and Robertson *The Philippine Islands 1493-1898* Vol XLV p 185 n The Arthur H Clark Company Publishers

² See *Political Science Quarterly* December 903

³ See Blair and Robertson *The Philippine Islands 1493-1898* Vol L p 261 The Arthur H Clark Company Publishers

⁴ See *ibid* Vol XLV p 221

According to an ordinance of the king, renewed, perhaps, a hundred times, the religious are ordered to teach Castilian to the young Indians¹ But his Majesty, the Spaniards of Manila have assured me universally, has not yet been obeyed to this day, and has not been able to succeed in having the ordinances executed Public schools are to be seen at a half league's distance from Manila where the youth are taught but good care is taken not to teach them Castilian They are taught the language of the country

According to Zuniga, when Governor Simón de Anda y Salazar (1762-1764) ordered that no one could become a *gobernadorcillo* unless he knew Spanish, it became necessary in almost all the villages to take the servants of the curates in order to get qualified men²

Printing and publications The early publications of the Spanish missionaries and the development of printing in the Philippines are of interest to the student of printing in general In this country the art of printing dates from before the first English settlement in America As early as 1593 Governor Gomez Perez Dasmarias, in a letter to the king, referred to having permitted the printing of the Christian doctrine in the Tagalog language and also in Chinese³

The first known printer in the Philippines was Juan de Vera, a Christian Chinese, who after 1602 printed works on the Christian religion for the missionaries After 1610 there are books printed by Tomas Pinpin, the "prince of Filipino printers," as Retana calls him, his name appearing on books printed as late as 1639 He worked in the printing shops established in Abucay, Bataan, Binondo, Manila, Pila Laguna the University of Santo Tomas, and the College of San Jose According to Retana, the Santo Tomas press has been in

¹ Blair and Robertson *The Philippine Islands 1493-1898* Vol XLVIII p 211 The Arthur H Clark Company Publishers

² See *ibid* Vol XLVI pp 333 334

³ See W E Retana *Origenes de la Imprenta Filipina* 1911 No copy of this has yet been found some have conjectured that this Christian doctrine was printed from block instead of movable type

continuous existence under the same ownership and management for a longer time than any other in the world

That the early missionaries not only preached their Christian teachings but also printed them so as to reach a greater number of converts is shown by the list of their publications up to 1800 Says Bourne

An examination of J T Medina's monumental work on printing in Manila and of Retana's supplement reveals nearly five hundred titles of works printed in the islands before 1800¹ This of course takes no account of the works sent or brought to Spain for publication, which would necessarily comprise a large proportion of those of general rather than local interest, including of course the most important histories To these should be added no small number of grammars and dictionaries of the native languages, and missionary histories, that have never been printed The monastic presses in the islands naturally were chiefly used for the production of works of religious edification, such as catechisms, narratives of missions, martyrdoms, lives of saints, religious histories, and hand books to the native language Simpler manuals of devotion, rosaries, catechisms, outlines of Christian doctrine, stories of martyrdoms, etc, were translated for the Indians Of these there were about sixty in the Tagal, and from three to ten or twelve each in the Visayan, Vicol, Pampanga, Ilocan, Panayan, and Pangasinán languages²

It was the ability of the Filipinos to read these manuals of devotion and catechisms, as well as the fact that simple vocabularies were prepared for teaching the reading of the various Philippine languages, that explains their reputation for a high degree of literacy during the Spanish régime.

If,¹ as is credibly asserted, the knowledge of reading and writing was more generally diffused in the Philippines than among the common people of Europe, we have the singular result that the

¹ Blair and Robertson, *The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898*, Vol I, pp 78-80 The Arthur H Clark Company, Publishers

² See J T Medina, *La Imprenta en Manila desde sus orígenes hasta 1810* 1896 See also W E. Retana, *Adiciones y Observaciones a la Imprenta en Manila* 1899

islands contained relatively more people who could read, and less reading matter of any but purely religious interest, than any other community in the world

Commenting upon the catalogue of Philippine books, Bourne says "His collection did not contain so far as I noticed a single secular historical narrative in Tagal or anything in natural science"¹

Summary of social progress LeRoy summarizes the social condition of the Filipinos as follows

By 1700 about three fourths of a million souls were baptized and settled in orderly communities, clothed in a modified European style, familiarized with the catechism and with various religious exercises printed for them in their native dialects and were attending mass and hearing sermons in those dialects in stone structures wherein Europe seems for the moment to be transplanted into the Far East² The principles of that great body of law with which the name of Justinian is identified only as a sort of intermediary landmark had in some degree been put into practice in this detached portion of the non individualistic Orient

Charity and education (though the latter was confined mainly to religious matters) were works which went hand in hand from the first, Manila had its hospitals nearly half a century before the Pilgrims came to Plymouth, and there had been a college founded there at the very opening of the seventeenth century The first printing press in the Philippines was at work before the founding of Jamestown and little pamphlets of religious instruction in the dialects, as well as more weighty publications in Spanish, were multiplied during the succeeding century, we cannot to-day call these works of the friars scholarly, but, considering their times and their purposes, they are not the less notable

Woman occupies a higher position in the Philippines than she ever did in any other Oriental country, and indeed, there are few places in the world where she plays a more prominent and inde-

¹ Blair and Robertson *The Philippine Islands 1493-1898* Vol I p 80 The Arthur H Clark Company Publishers

² James A LeRoy, *The Americans in the Philippines* Vol I Houghton Mifflin Company 1914

pendent part, not only in the affairs of the family, but also in the life of the community, and even in many instances in business, a glance at the Moro and pagan communities and at the other peoples of the Orient compels the belief that this is due to the introduction of Christianity into this segregated portion of the East

Just as the new social environment created by the advent of the Spaniards induced the Filipinos to think highly of a military career so we find them attracted by the other new opportunities for advancement offered by the new regime. Since a religious career carried with it a social standing, many Filipinos of distinction flocked to it. As early as the middle of the seventeenth century Father Delgado says

I know some seculars in the islands who although Indians, can serve as an example and confusion to the European priests¹ Those reared in any of the four colleges in Manila for the clerical estate are all the sons of chiefs people of distinction among the Indians themselves, and not of the *tumaua* or of the class of *olipon*, as the Visayan says, or *maharlica* or *alipin*, as the Tagalog calls the slaves and freedmen. Furthermore, when the most illustrious bishops promote any of these men to holy orders they do not proceed blindly, ordering any one whomever to be advanced — but only with great consideration and prudence, and after informing themselves of his birth and his morals and examining and testing him first before the ministry of souls is entrusted to him, and to say the contrary is to censure the most illustrious prelates, to whom we owe so much veneration and reverence

He says further that although some of the native priests had turned out badly, they should not all be condemned. "Consequently, it is not to be wondered at that the most illustrious prelates and bishops should ordain Indians here and in Nueva España, and in other parts of the Indies"¹

¹ Blair and Robertson *The Philippine Islands 1493-1898* Vol XL pp 278-279 n. The Arthur H. Clark Company Publishers

Besides the religious and military careers, the Filipinos were attracted to the learned professions of law and medicine and pharmacy, especially during the nineteenth century

III LABOR AND SERVICE OF FILIPINOS

Filipino labor What part did Filipino labor play in the material development of the Philippines? What has been said about the early economic importance of Chinese labor is likely to give the impression that Filipino laborers were mere onlookers in the material upbuilding of their country. Such, however, was not the case. In our study of early industries we saw how the Filipinos abandoned them during the period of conquest, on account of the great amount of forced labor required by the government in its construction of public works. In this section we shall see how Filipino labor continued to be valuable not only as an economic factor but assumed even greater importance and rendered even more valuable service in connection with the nonindustrial activities of the community and the government.

Filipinos in industry In 1738 the Jesuit Father Pedro Murillo wrote his estimate of Filipino labor and its economic value

They are most clever in any handiwork, not in inventing but in imitating what they see.¹ They are most beautiful writers, and there are many tailors and barbers among them. They are excellent embroiderers [Figs 34 and 37], painters, goldsmiths, and engravers whose burin has not the like in all the Indies, as is seen clearly in the many good engravings [Figs 35, 38, and 39] that they make daily. They are good sculptors, gilders, and carpenters. They make the water craft of these islands, the galleys, pataches, and ships of the Acapulco line. They act as sailors, artillery men, and divers, for there is scarcely an Indian who cannot swim excellently. They are the under pilots of these seas. They are very expert in making

¹ Blair and Robertson *The Philippine Islands 1493-1898* Vol. XL, pp. 290-292. The Arthur H. Clark Company Publishers.

bejuquillos, which are gold chains of a very delicate and exquisite workmanship. They make hats, *petates* or rugs, and mats, from palm-leaves, rattan, and nito, which are very beautiful and embroidered with various kinds of flowers and figures. They are remarkable mechanics and puppet-showmen, and they make complicated mechanisms which, by means of figures, go through various motions with propriety and accuracy. There are some jewelers [Fig 36]. They make powder, and cast swivel-guns, cannon, and bells. I have seen them make guns as fine as those of Europa. There are three printing houses in Manila, and all have Indian workmen. They

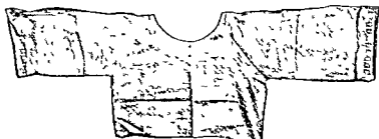


FIG 34 EMBROIDERED PIÑA CAMISA USED BY RIZAL'S GREAT-GRANDMOTHER

Courtesy of Dr. Pardo de Tavera

have great ability in music. There is no village however small, that has not its suitable band of musicians for the services of the Church. They have excellent voices—sopranos, contraltos, tenors, and basses. Almost all of them can play the harp, and there are many violinists, rebeck, oboe, and flute players. The most remarkable thing is, that not only do those whose trade it is make those instruments, but various Indians make guitars, flutes, harps, and violins, for pleasure, with their bolos and machetes. And by the mere seeing those instruments played, they learn them almost without any teaching; and the same thing occurs in other things.

Commenting upon this estimate, Father Juan José Delgado added an appreciation of the valuable service of Filipino labor:

This is what Father Murillo says, but he left the most important things in the inkhorn¹ I will add them here, as I have heard them affirmed many times by the Spaniards in Cavite, namely Who are the men who convey and conduct the ships and galleons from Acapulco and other kingdoms? Is it the Spaniards? Ask that of the pilots, masters and boatswains and they will all affirm that



FIG 35 ENGRAVING OF COSTUMES

This was executed in 1734 by Cruz Bagay a Tagalog engraver (Courtesy of Dr Pardo de Tavera)

this great and inestimable good is due to the Indian alone Besides this, who are the people who support us in these lands and those who furnish us food? Perhaps the Spaniards dig harvest and plant throughout the islands? Of a surety, no for when they arrive at Manila they are all gentlemen The Indians are the ones who plow the lands who sow the rice who keep it clear [of weeds] who tend it who harvest it who thrash it out with their feet — and

¹ Blair and Robertson *The Philippine Islands 1493-1898* Vol XL pp 29 - 294 The Arthur H Clark Company Publishers

not only the rice which is consumed in Manila, but that throughout the Filipinas — and there is no one in all the islands who can deny me that Besides this who cares for the cattle ranches? The Spaniards? Certainly not The Indians are the ones who care for and manage and tend the sheep and cattle by which the Spaniards are supported Who rears the swine? Is it not the same Indians? Who cultivates the fruits of the earth? of which there is always

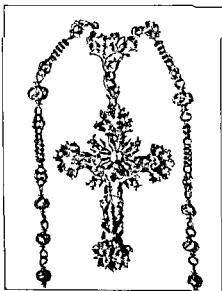


FIG 36 A GOLDEN ROSARY WITH A SILVER CROSS

This was made by a Filipino artist about the end of the eighteenth century (Courtesy of Dr Pardo de Tavera)

abundance in the islands, unless unfavorable weather, locusts or some other accident cause their loss? Who provides Manila and the Spaniards with oil? Is it not the poor Visayan Indians, who bring it in their vessels annually? Who furnishes so great profit to the Spaniards in Manila with balate and sigay, and who buys those products very cheaply from the wretched Indians, and resells them for double the sum to the pataches of the coast and to the Sangleys? Who guide and convey us to the villages and missions and serve us as guides sailors, and pilots? Perhaps it is the Spaniards? No, it is the Indians themselves, with their

so exaggerated magnified, and heightened laziness Is this the thanks that we give them, when we are conquering them in their own lands, and have made ourselves masters in them and are served by them almost as by slaves? We ought to give God our Lord many thanks because He maintains us only through the affection and by the useful labors of the Indians in this land, and He would perhaps have already driven us hence if it were not for this usefulness of theirs, and for the salvation of the

Indians We also owe many thanks to the Indians, since God our Lord sustains us in their lands by their means, and because we would die of starvation if they did not sustain us, provide us with food serve us, and conduct us through the islands with so much love and security that they would all first perish before the father in whatever perils arise

Filipinos in the army and navy. Undoubtedly one of the main reasons why the Filipinos abandoned their ancient industries was the fact that they were drafted into the Spanish military service The Malay temperament is naturally adventurous and inclined to military and seafaring life, and the honors and rewards offered by the Spaniards to the leading Filipinos who entered military service were but additional incentives to the people to enter the army

Continuing his defense of the service of Filipinos, Father Delgado says

These and many other like things were overlooked by Father Murillo, who was enraptured by their music, engraving, and rugs¹ By the aforesaid, one will see with how little truth the statement is printed that the Indians are the greatest enemies that the father ministers have, for certainly all the above could not be reconciled with such a proposition On the contrary, it must be said that the Indians are those who defend us from our enemies, for, in the presidios, who are the soldiers who sail in the war fleets, who are in the vanguard in war? Could the Spaniards, perchance, maintain themselves alone in this country, if the Indians did not aid in every thing? Little experience and less reflection would he have who should propose such a thing Therefore, these two things do not harmonise well, that those who hate us should defend us, and that those who are our greatest enemies should be the ones to maintain and support us Nor is it to be wondered at that there have been insurrections on several occasions, these, perhaps, have not arisen because the Indians were ill disposed to the Spaniards, but, on the contrary, we know that many of them have been caused by the

¹ Blair and Robertson *The Philippine Islands 1493-1898* Vol XI pp 294-295 The Arthur H Clark Company Publishers

cruelty, wickedness, and tyranny of some alcalde mayor and other Spaniards who, having been elevated from low beginnings, try to become gods and kings in the provinces, tyrannizing over the Indians and their possessions. This is often the cause of the insurrections. Would that I could mention some especial cases in this matter. However, I do not care to dip my pen in blood, and write tragedies instead of history. For, although I could say more, the authority and arrogance that every Spaniard assumes upon his arrival in this country is incredible.

The military service of the Filipinos becomes more important when it is remembered that from the beginning of Spanish occupation the Spaniards were absorbed in the profitable galleon trade to Acapulco and were tempted to neglect military life. This report of an official to the king is typical.

Carrying on commerce as they do, all the Spaniards are absorbed in it to such a degree that there are not even enough to aid in the expeditions and military operations.¹ Thus they will not remember that they are soldiers, and living among so many enemies, and do not realize that they are carrying arms, nor do they work for what your Majesty claims of them, the conversion and pacification of the natives. The Spaniards have become effeminate in spirit by their trading, and on various occasions have greatly lost their repute, for they are not as they used to be — having given themselves over to vices, luxuries, fine clothes, eating, and drinking, consequently they have not had their wonted success on several of the expeditions, and have come back without accomplishing what they set out to do, and the friendly Indians are making war, and going out to fight.

If your Majesty would prohibit trading, except perhaps in the products of the islands, three hundred men would be of as much use here as a thousand are today, for they would realize that they must gain their livelihood by their arms, and not by traffic. Otherwise they only await a chance to go hence as soon as possible, and so take no heed of the affairs of this country, and do not engage in stock raising and agriculture, or in building, for each one does as

¹ Blair and Robertson *The Philippine Islands 1493-1898*, Vol VI, pp 270-271. The Arthur H. Clark Company, Publishers

suits him best, and therefore this country is not growing, but rather falling into appalling decay and weakness

From the early days of Spanish occupation Filipino companies had been organized and used by Spain "The governors have appointed captains masters of camp, and all sorts of military officers among the natives¹ They allow them to have company colors, and finally are teaching them how to fight after our manner" To the same effect was the report of Bernardino Maldonado the castellan of the fort of Manila to the king In this report is also seen the constant danger arising from the increase of Filipino companies Time and again we find the attention of the home government called to this danger

I have also thought best to advise your Majesty of the many companies that have been enrolled and enlisted for the last two years from the natives of this country² They are put under regular captains and have an alferes and other officials and carry company banners like a regiment They are in addition to the Spanish infantry which your Majesty has here in your royal service in which we ought alone to trust The latter have two masters of camp and sargentos-mayor to whom so great obedience is rendered that it is a cause for wonder This is an occasion that demands that the faithful servants of your Majesty, and especially those of us who have such obligations as I, ought to report to you the manifest danger to this kingdom because of this Those companies have the best arms muskets, and arquebuses of this camp and in great quantity A very considerable quantity of arms are sent from Japon especially cutans (a weapon resembling a broad cutlass), and a great number of iron pikeheads Those weapons are used in those companies, for the Spaniards do not use the cutan, and the native soldiers should be prohibited from carrying them They go about with swords and gilded daggers at the belt and wear military badges They pay one hundred pesos for a musket and do not refuse to buy them because of the price for such is their happiness

¹ Blair and Robertson *The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898* Vol XVIII p 318 The Arthur H Clark Company Publishers

² Ibid Vol XXXIV pp 445 446

and pleasure in this and in being soldiers. Although this enrollment has been made because of the expedition to Maluco, it must prove of greater injury than gain. We lose great reputation if we give them to understand that we need them for any occasion of war rather than for only rowers and servants. It is after God the reputation of the Spanish nation in these districts that has sustained and is sustaining us here. Those people are now very skilful and are reared among us especially those of Pampanga and the vicinity of this city. They are a people of great boldness only needing a leader whom they would recognize and they are so many in number that it is a matter that must be feared considerably and one of which your Majesty orders us to be fearful and watchful.

Throughout Spanish domination the Spanish military force in the Philippines was very small as shown in letters to the king one of which written by Geronimo de Silva in 1621, reads as follows:

It is a pitiful thing to see how few men your Majesty has for service in these islands as I can certify since the army is in my charge¹. For the paid infantry does not exceed four hundred in actual service outside of the crippled and sick in the hospital where they are continually dying. Many of those who are not on pay escape to India and other regions without any possibility of avoiding it. Consequently, Sire this matter remains in the above condition and demands very speedy betterment which your Majesty should furnish by sending a number of men and the other things needed for the conservation of all this land. For by doing otherwise, a well known danger is invited as your Majesty will learn more fully from the relation that the governor will send to which I refer.

Not only were Filipinos drafted into the army, but they were called upon to support the soldiers. An official report stated "that the soldiers, inasmuch as they are unpaid and receive no rations, are being supported at the Indians' expense, and that on this account many extortions are practiced"².

¹ Blair and Robertson *The Philippine Islands 1493-1898* Vol XX, p. 110
The Arthur H. Clark Company Publishers

² *Ibid* Vol III pp. 209-210

In the army the Filipinos were used not only on the field but in the foundries.¹ As early as 1579 Governor Francisco de Sande wrote to King Philip II that he was discarding useless artillery and recasting new pieces from it, the Indians already having cast one piece weighing 90 quintals, which he considered better made than any in the castle of Milan itself. Another mold had been made and there was an Indian ready to make as many more as should be ordered.²

Such a good record has been made by Filipino gunsmiths that Manuel Bernardez Pizarro, advocating reforms in the Philippines, wrote in 1827: "In the arsenal reform is needed; all its workmen except the gunsmith should be replaced gradually by Indians, who are so skilful and work for less wages than the Spaniards."³

That the Filipinos made good soldiers is the testimony of all writers. Fray Miguel de Benavides, Archbishop of Manila, wrote in 1605 that they "are excellent soldiers, shooting even better than do the Spaniards with arquebuses, and possess very good weapons"⁴

A review of the military expeditions sent out by the Spanish government at various times shows the comparative number of Spaniards and Filipinos composing those expeditions. In the first one sent by Legazpi to Manila under the command of Martin de Goiti there were 110 Spanish soldiers and about 600 Visayans. From a letter to Philip II in 1598 we learn that an expedition to the Cagayan country had 60 Spaniards and 800 Filipinos. Referring to the small number of Spanish soldiers in this country, the same letter says.

We Spaniards are very few in number, and are surrounded by enemies on every side.⁵ If we are not relieved in time by the despatch of reinforcements, it will be impossible to apply a remedy

¹ See Blair and Robertson, *The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898*, Vol XLVII, p 97 The Arthur H Clark Company, Publishers

² See *ibid* Vol IV, p 146

⁴ *Ibid* Vol XIII, p 284.

³ *Ibid* Vol LI, p 192

⁵ *Ibid* Vol VII, p 135

when it is wanted As I have already said, we are but few, and the troops die very quickly When the Indians see an opportunity to crush us, they are not likely to let it slip

In an expedition to the Igorot mines in 1624 there were 70 Spaniards and 1748 Filipinos from the Ilocos provinces and Pangasinan¹ In the expedition against the Comucones inhabiting the islands from Paragua to Borneo, there were 55 Spaniards and 600 Filipinos In this expedition more than 5000 tributaries were reduced to peace²

Filipinos in expeditions to the Moluccas In the early voyages to the Moluccas, also many Filipinos were used In the expedition under Gonzalo Ronquillo de Penalosa (1580-1583) there were 300 Spaniards and more than 1500 Filipinos with ammunition and food³ In the ill fated expedition of Gomez Pérez Dasmariñas (1590-1593) there were in all 100 vessels 1000 well armed Spaniards, more than 400 arquebusiers from the vicinity of Manila, 1000 Visayans, "people who use lances shields, and bows and arrows,"⁴ and 400 Chinese From a letter to Philip II in 1584 we learn that 400 Spaniards and 1000 'friendly Indians' were about to be sent to the Moluccas⁵ The expedition under Governor Pedro Bravo de Acuña in 1606, had 1423 Spaniards and 1613 Filipinos, including soldiers and rowers⁶

These Filipinos served faithfully, but their families suffered and their interests were prejudiced during their absence, as shown in a report of Hernando de los Rios Coronel

Your Majesty is served by the Indian natives as soldiers in Maluco and other regions — who, as we know by experience, serve very faithfully, and so long as they are at the war, they cannot attend to their fields and sustain their households⁷ And in the report:

¹ See Blair and Robertson *The Philippine Islands 1493-1898* Vol XX, p 263 The Arthur H Clark Company, Publishers

² See *ibid* Vol XXII p 95

³ See *ibid* Vol XVI p 237

⁴ *Ibid* Vol XVI p 257

⁵ See *ibid* Vol VI p 62

⁶ See *ibid* Vol XVI p 309

⁷ *Ibid* Vol XXIII pp 297-298

mientos which are generally made by the governors, both in personal services and in food, the chiefs and cabezas [de barangay], through whom the apportionment is made, practice greatly cruelty on the wives of those soldiers upon whom they make the said repartimientos, thus giving occasion for the women to sell their children, or to take to evil ways.

He therefore petitions your Majesty that such repartimientos be not made on women whose husbands are thus engaged in the war in your Majesty's service, and that they pay no tribute until their husbands return—also making this concession to those whose husbands shall have died in the war; for not only will this be a service to your Majesty and to our Lord, but the natives will thus be encouraged to go to service willingly, and many wrongs will be avoided.



FIG 37. EMBROIDERED SHIRT WORN BY RIZAL'S FATHER

Courtesy of Dr. Paulo de Tavera

Filipino service during Chinese revolts. In the Chinese rebellion of 1603 Filipino companies were instrumental in saving Manila for Spanish sovereignty. The arrival of 1000 Pampangan soldiers in the city was most opportune, for just at that time "the Japanese, seeing that the Pampanga Indians were destroying and sacking the Parián with great fury, gradually joined them."¹ When the Chinese fled to San Pablo, Laguna, they were pursued by 1000 Filipinos and 500 Spaniards. In the second attack against San Pablo there were

¹ Blair and Robertson, *The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898*, Vol. XIV, p. 129. The Arthur H. Clark Company, Publishers.

200 Spaniards, 400 Japanese, 2000 Pampangan Filipinos, 200 Moros and 300 blacks Rizal, quoting Argensola, says that there were 4000 Filipinos in this attack.¹

For this valuable service the Filipinos were naturally praised and rewarded upon their victorious return to Manila.

On the fourteenth of November Sargento mayor Ascoeta entered this city marching in good order with his camp, both Spaniards, and the Pampanga Indians and Japanese.² They brought in the banners won from the enemy. They were very well received by the governor and Audiencia, and by all the city. Don Pedro showered a thousand compliments on all the Pampanga captains for their good services. They were much pleased at this and offered their persons lives, and possessions to the service of his Majesty. The Japanese and Pampangas had a share in all the wealth of the booty, and it was large, for it consisted mainly of gold, silver, reals, and pearls.

The report of Governor Pedro Bravo de Acuña to the king with reference to this rebellion commends the Filipinos for the valuable aid they rendered and for their special ability as soldiers. He says

Before this uprising of the Sangleys, immediately upon the departure of the mandarins from here, as some disturbance had resulted from their coming, among other precautions which I took was that of ordering the establishment of several infantry captaincies for the natives particularly in the provinces of Pampanga, Bulacan, La Laguna de Vay, Tondo, Bombon, and Calilaya.³ These are more reasonable people, and more prosperous and civilized than the other Indians because they are nearer the city of Manila, and show more affection for the Spaniards, and likewise because they have more courage and spirit. I wrote to the alcaldes mayor and the fathers, they sent me a memorandum of those who appeared to them most fit, saying that they had told them that

¹ See Blair and Robertson *The Philippine Islands 1493-1898* Vol. XIV, pp. 131-132. The Arthur H. Clark Company Publishers.

² *Ibid.* Vol. XIV pp. 134-135.

³ *Ibid.* Vol. XII pp. 160-161.

they should immediately get their people ready and well armed, each one with rations for a month. While this was being agreed upon, the uprising took place, and this precaution was of the greatest importance, for they were able to come without delay, and be of so much use that without them I know not what would have happened. They are very proud of being soldiers and of serving your Majesty in military affairs, and therefore they have proved to be excellent troops. I have made much of them, given them presents, and thanked them for what they have done, for which they are grateful, and contented with whatever may come to them. In every way it has been of the greatest importance that these natives have lost their fear for the Sangleys, and have declared against them. There are among them a number of arquebusiers and musketeers. They are all a people fitted for the work, and if captured by Spaniards they would be of much use. I have been continuing the permission which they before had from the previous governors to carry, in some cases arquebuses and other arms, and as they have proved to be good and faithful, the object has been attained.

Filipino service in wars with the Dutch. In the wars against the Dutch, who were a constant menace to Spanish sovereignty during the first decades following the period of settlement, the Filipinos rendered valuable help. In one of the first naval fights, in which Dr. Antonio de Morga was in command of the Spanish fleet, Filipino seamen were used.¹ These Filipinos "helped very much." The loyalty of the veteran Filipino soldiers was shown in their opposition to the hoisting of the flag of truce when they were besieged by the Dutch in the church of Abucay, Bataan, in 1647, in spite of decision to do so on the part of the *alcalde mayor*, who was not so good a soldier as he was a trader. In the words of Fray Joseph Fayol

Among² those in the convent were the principal men of all Pampanga, many of them veteran soldiers of long experience in

¹ See Blair and Robertson *The Philippine Islands 1493-1898* Vol. XV, pp. 20-221. The Arthur H. Clark Company Publishers.

² *Ibid.* Vol. XXXV, p. 266.

Terrenate They told the alcalde that our forces were superior in number to those of the enemy, that on various occasions they had shown themselves equal to the foe, and did not acknowledge him as their superior on land, and that when their ammunition and weapons were exhausted they would hurl themselves against him tooth and nail, and die like good soldiers, fighting in the service of



FIG 38 COSTUMES WORN IN THE PHILIPPINES, 1734

Courtesy of Dr Pardo de Tavera

God and the King They declared that they would not consider a flag of peace, which would serve to encourage the enemy and deliver them all into his hands

An idea of the great sacrifice made by the people in their effort to aid Spain against the Dutch may be gained from the following letter to the king

Great¹ armaments had been organized in a short time, to drive out the Dutch, but for that very reason, the inhabitants had been

¹ Blair and Robertson, *The Philippine Islands 1493-1898*, Vol XVII, pp 249-250 The Arthur H Clark Company, Publishers

compelled to make vast sacrifices at the cost of their fortunes. Hence they were in so ruined a condition that the three or four wealthiest citizens had been unable to equip a ship to be sent to Acapulco. The Indians were so exhausted and harassed with tributes, new impositions, and personal services, that it became necessary for many, after they had nothing more to give (since they had given all their possessions), to give their persons to others, as slaves, so that the latter might give for them what they themselves did not possess.

Filipinos in expeditions to Mindanao and Jolo. Many Filipinos served in the various expeditions sent to Mindanao. In a letter to the king sent by Antonio de Morga in 1586, we learn that 214 Spaniards and 500 Filipinos under Captain Esteban Rodríguez de Figueroa were sent on an expedition for the pacification of Mindanao. While in Mindanao Ronquillo was also aided by Lumaquan, a chief, with 500 men.¹ An expedition to Jolo in 1628 had 200 Spaniards and 1600 Filipinos,² and Governor Juan Niño de Tavora's expedition against Jolo had 400 Spaniards and 2500 Filipinos.³ The Moro raids also were checked with the aid of Filipino companies. In a letter to the king, Governor Sebastián Hurtado de Corcuera says:

The only measure which I, but recently arrived, could take for the remedy of this evil was to order all the *alcaldes-mayor* to raise companies of Indians, exempting the captains, *alférezes*, and sergeants from tributes and personal services, and equipping them with firearms, pikes, and lances.⁴

La Solidaridad, referring to a book entitled *Héroes de Filipinas y Jolo*, by Pio A. de Pazoz y Vela-Hidalgo, pays warm tribute to the Filipino heroes of Mindanao. As Blumentritt, that sincere friend of Filipinos, has remarked, this paper has

¹ See Blair and Robertson, *The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898*, Vol. IX, p. 283. The Arthur H. Clark Company, Publishers.

² See *ibid.* Vol. XXII, p. 207.

³ See *ibid.* Vol. XXIII, pp. 87-88.

⁴ *Ibid.* Vol. XXVI, p. 285.

golden pages for the valour and loyalty of the Filipinos who shed their blood for the integrity of Spanish dominion in those regions of Oceania namely Juan Aquino, Cirilo Maypit, D Francisco Laksumana, 'maestro de Campo, D Gregorio Sundulin and many others whose names are written in letters of gold in the history of the Philippines¹



FIG 39 COSTUMES WORN IN THE PHILIPPINES 1734

Courtesy of Dr Pardo de Tavera

Filipino service during the English invasion During the English invasion in 1762 the Filipino soldiers, especially those coming from Pampanga, helped Simon de Anda to keep the Philippine Islands

Perhaps² the most striking events of the eighteenth century center about the English occupation of Manila in 1762-63 and the

¹ *La Solidaridad* Madrid August 15 1889

² James A LeRoy *The Americans in the Philippines*, Vol I Houghton Mifflin Company, 1914

figure of Simon de Anda the vigorous lawyer soldier, who martyred by the archbishop-governor and deserted by most of the Spanish elements in the islands yet succeeded with the aid of his loyal Pampangan soldiers, in confining the invaders to Manila and thus probably saved the archipelago for Spain at the making of the Treaty of Paris in 1763. The city was surrendered practically without defense by Archbishop Rojo (thereafter, no archbishop served as governor general). The Jesuits in pursuit of their general policy, promptly raised the English flag over their monastery and went bodily over to the supposed new sovereignty.

Anda was aided by 3,500 Filipinos from Pampanga, Bulacan and Laguna "who though undisciplined, and armed only with lances bows, and arrows yet by a daring resolution and contempt of death, became not only troublesome but formidable" ¹

Spanish policy of attraction. The military services of Filipinos were praised in letters to the king by the Spanish officials. And in order to cultivate further the friendship of Filipinos, and preserve their valuable loyalty, it was generally agreed among the Spanish hierarchy in the Philippines and in Spain to pursue a policy of attraction. The following letter by Juan Grau y Monfalcon is valuable not only as an authoritative summary of Filipino military services, but also as the expression of the Spanish policy of attraction adopted since early days.

Don Juan Grau y Monfalcon procurator general of the Philippine Islands desirous of your Majesty's service and the welfare and conservation of those islands and that the Indians who are under your Majesty's protection and pay you homage be preserved therein represents that the Indian natives of the provinces of Pampanga Camarinas and Tagalos have served and are serving your Majesty with great love and fidelity, since the time of the conquest of those islands ². Not one of those Indians has ever been

¹ Blair and Robertson *The Philippine Islands 1493-1898*, Vol. XLIX, pp. 53-54. The Arthur H. Clark Company Publishers.

² *Ibid.* Vol. XXV, pp. 148-150.

found in rebellion, or has wrought any treachery, or deserted to the enemy. Those Indians, mingled with Spaniards, serve as soldiers in war, and have proved excellent therein. Especially are the Pampangos valiant soldiers, who have performed and are daily performing valiant exploits at the side of the Spanish. They were at the taking of Terrenate, and, whenever occasion offers, they with other companies come to guard the city of Manila.

They also serve as rowers and pioneers in expeditions by the fleets. On all occasions that offer, they serve your Majesty with their persons and possessions. The natives of the province of Tagalos do the same. They, together with those of the province of Camarinas, serve both in war and in the building of galleons and galleys with great friendship and goodwill. In order that those Indians, especially the Pampangos and Tagals, may be encouraged to continue your Majesty's royal service, he represents that it would be very advisable for your Majesty to be pleased to command that letters be sent to them, expressing your great appreciation of their conduct, as well to the governor of Manila, ordering him to observe and cause to be observed *in toto* the decrees that were ordered to be despatched in their favor by their Majesties the Kings Don Felipe Second and Third. If it should be deemed advisable, since they are serving in the military and are so valiant soldiers, in order to encourage them for the future [the writer suggests that you] honor them with military offices and charges, for if the natives of the said provinces see that your Majesty is mindful of them, and honors them through your royal decrees, they will be encouraged to continue your royal service with greater fervor. In case that it should appear expedient to despatch the said decrees, they could be sent to the alcaldes mayor of the said three provinces of Pampanga, Tagalos, and Camarinas, and they should be ordered to assemble the leading Indians of those provinces, and have your Majesty's royal decrees read to them. Besides the many advantages that may accrue from your Majesty honoring the natives of these three provinces, may follow another very great one — namely, that the other Indians of the other provinces, who do not serve with so much friendship and promptness as they (on the contrary, many of them rebel daily and go over to the enemy), on seeing that your Majesty honors them by your royal decrees and that the

governors appoint them to offices and duties, will be encouraged to serve and to merit a like reward from your Majesty. All of the above he represents, so that your Majesty may take what measures may be deemed most fitting for your royal service.

In line with this policy outlined by Grau y Monfalcon two royal decrees were issued. After recounting the valuable services of Filipinos and stating that "more than ten thousand of them served me on the occasion of the Sangley insurrection, with much valor and good-will,"¹ the decree formulates the official royal policy as follows:

The matter having been discussed in my royal Council of the Yndias, considering how just it is to honor, favor, and reward them, in order that they may render greater and more willing obedience to all that shall be ordered to them for my service, I command that you immediately summon the headmen of the Indians, and make known to them in my behalf the esteem that I have for them personally for the courage, affection, and good-will with which they have rendered assistance when emergencies have arisen, and especially in the Sangley insurrection, by which I consider myself well served.¹ You shall give them thanks for this, and favor and reward them in all possible ways, endeavoring to secure their relief, convenience, and comfort. Such is my will; and I shall especially appreciate all that you shall accomplish for their relief and honor.

It was this military service of the Filipinos that Rizal had in mind when he advocated more liberal concessions from the Spanish government of his days. He wrote:

Formerly² the Spanish authority was upheld among the natives by a handful of soldiers, three to five hundred at most, many of whom were engaged in trade and were scattered about not only in the Islands but also among the neighboring nations, occupied in long wars against the Mohammedans in the south, against the British and Dutch, and ceaselessly harassed by Japanese, Chinese, or some tribe in the interior. Then communication with Mexico

¹Blair and Robertson, *The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898*, Vol. XXXV, pp. 126-127. The Arthur H. Clark Company, Publishers.

²José Rizal, *The Philippines a Century Hence*.

and Spain was slow, rare and difficult, frequent and violent the disturbances among the ruling powers in the Islands, the treasury nearly always empty, and the life of the colonists dependent upon one frail ship that handled the Chinese trade. Then the seas in those regions were infested with pirates, all enemies of the Spanish name which was defended by an improvised fleet, generally manned by rude adventurers when not by foreigners and enemies, as happened in the expedition of Gomez Perez Dasmariñas, which was checked and frustrated by the mutiny of the Chinese rowers, who killed him and thwarted all his plans and schemes. Yet in spite of so many adverse circumstances the Spanish authority has been upheld for more than three centuries and, though it has been curtailed, still continues to rule the destinies of the Philippine group.

So according to Rizal, it was owing to Filipino cooperation that Spanish authority was maintained in the Philippines for so long.

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QUESTIONS AND TOPICS FOR FURTHER STUDY

- 1 Show by means of a diagram the growth of population from 1600 to 1800 (Reference No 1)
- 2 What was the effect of Moro raids on the growth of population? What regions were most affected? (Reference No 7)
- 3 What were the periods of Chinese migrations from China? (Reference No 4)
- 4 Describe the early Chinese settlements in Manila (References Nos 5 6 7)
- 5 Estimate the economic importance of the Chinese during this period (References Nos 6 7 11 12 17 18)
- 6 In your opinion was intermarriage of Chinese and Filipinos beneficial? (References Nos 1 4)
- 7 Today the Chinese are excluded from the Philippines by law of Congress Would you favor naturalization of Chinese who desire to make the Philippines their permanent home? Why?
- 8 Give an account of early Japanese immigration (Reference No 7)
- 9 Show the relation between missionary activities of the Christian orders and the policy of exclusion of Japan
- 10 Show the progress of colleges and schools during this period (References Nos 24 25 26 27, 28)
- 11 Give an account of early printing in the Philippines (Reference No 29)
- 12 Give a summary of social progress up to 1700 (Reference No 31)
- 13 Show the participation of Filipino labor in industries at this time
- 14 Give an account of Filipino services to Spain (References Nos 22 23)
- 15 Do those services partly explain Filipino neglect of trade and industry?
- 16 What was Spain's policy of attraction?

CHAPTER XI

POLITICAL CONFLICTS DURING THE SEVENTEENTH AND EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES

I CONFLICTS BETWEEN FILIPINOS AND SPANIARDS

Spain's policy We discussed in Chapter VII the first attempts of the Filipinos to throw off the Spanish yoke and reestablish their own government. It is interesting to take further note of Filipino revolts, because they throw much light upon the relations of the Spaniards with the Filipinos. They reveal certain characteristics of the Filipino social organization, and they furnish us with concrete examples of Spain's policy of "divide and conquer," by which she, like other European colonizing powers, was able to destroy and weaken resistance.

Revolt of 1601 In November of 1601 the Igorot of northern Luzon revolted and killed a priest.¹

Revolt of Gaddangs, 1621 In November of 1621 the Gaddangs in the Cagayan valley

became restless, and disquieted the other inhabitants of that region, though these others had always been very faithful to God and the Spaniards.² But now these revolted and joined the insurgents, partly as the result of force applied by the Gaddangs — for the latter greatly excelled them in numbers and caught them unprepared for defense — and partly also carried away by their own natural desire for liberty, to which they were invited by the safety of the mountains to which they proposed to go.

¹ See José Montero y Vidal *Historia General de Filipinas* chap. x, 1887.

² Blair and Robertson *The Philippine Islands 1493-1898* Vol. XXXII pp. 113, 118. The Arthur H. Clark Company Publishers.

The curate tried to pacify them but the insurgents would not listen to his words of peace. "The reason of our uprising they said 'is that we are weary of the oppressions of the Spaniards.'"¹ They asked the father to depart and to take with him the silver and ornaments of the church. This was no small generosity from an excited body of insurgents,¹ says the historian Aduarte. They provided him with boats and men to row them and the friars went down the river to the friendly villages.¹ After committing 'a thousand extravagances' the insurgents were pacified as a result of the earnest efforts and the courageous boldness of Fray Pedro de Santo Tomas. The leaders of the revolt were the chiefs Felipe Cutay and Gabriel Dayag.

Rebellion in Bohol, 1622 According to Medina Bohol was in charge of the Jesuits

who had more than two thousand Indians.² A *babaylan* or priest called Tamblot had deceived them by telling them that the time was come when they could throw off the oppression of the Castilians for they were assured of the aid of their ancestors and *duatas* or gods.

His followers numbered as many as 1500. Troops from Cebu, consisting of 50 Spaniards and 1500 Filipinos, arrived and defeated the revolutionists, thus it was the Filipino soldiers who saved the Visayan Islands for Spain.

During the battle the run was so heavy that they [the Spanish troops] could not use the arquebuses so that the enemy were beginning to prevail.³ Thereupon the shields of the Sugbu [Cebu] Indians were brought into service and the latter aided excellently, by guarding with them the powder flasks and powder pans of the arquebuses so that they were fired with heavy loss [to the enemy].

That the whole Visayan region sympathized with the Bohol revolt is the testimony of Medina.

¹ Blair and Robertson *The Philippine Islands 1493-1898* Vol. XXXII p. 113-118. The Arthur H. Clark Company Publishers.

² *Id.* Vol. XXXIV p. 116-118.

Truly, had so good an outcome not befallen the Spaniards in Bohol, there would not have been a single one of the Pintados — and these form the bulk of the islands — which would not have risen against them¹ After this victory, those who had desired to raise the yoke placed their necks once more under it. However, it was not sufficient to deter the natives of Leyte from likewise trying their fortune, which resulted as ill to them as to the natives of Bohol. Then the islands became quiet, and the Indians more humble. However, whenever they see their chance, they will not lose it as they are a people who wish to live free.

To the same effect is the statement of Father Murillo Velarde

This success had very important results, for it checked the revolt of other islands and other villages — who were expecting the favorable result which the demon had promised them, so that they could shake off the mild yoke of Christ, and with it their vassalage to the Spaniards². Thus was dispersed that sedition, which was one of the most dangerous that had occurred in the islands — not only because the Boholans were the most warlike and valiant of the Indians, but on account of the conspiracy spreading to many other tribes.

Leyte revolt, 1622 Without waiting for the result of the revolt in Bohol, the people of Carigara, Leyte, rose,

incited thereto by Bancao, the ruling chief of Limasava — who in the year 1565 received with friendly welcome Miguel Lopez de Legazpi and the Spaniards who came to his island supplying them with what they needed, for which Felipe II sent him a royal decree, thanking him for the kind hospitality which he showed to those first Spaniards². He was baptized and, although a young man showed that he was loyal to the Christians, but, conquered by the enemy [of souls], he changed sides in his old age.

According to other writers he desired to be king of the island of Leyte. "This" man lived in the island of Leyte, and with

¹ Blair and Robertson *The Philippine Islands 1493-1898* Vol XXIV pp 118-119. The Arthur H. Clark Company Publishers

² *Ibid* Vol XXXIII pp 90-93

a son of his and another man, Pagali (whom he chose as priest of his idolatry), erected a sacred place to the diwata, or devil, and they induced six villages in the island to rebel."

As usual, many friendly Indians aided the Spaniards, and the rebels were defeated. According to Velarde

To inspire greater terror, the captain gave orders to shoot three or four rebels and to burn one of their priests — in order that, by the light of that fire the blindness in which the diwata had kept them deluded might be removed.¹

Cagayan revolts The people of Cagayan were most rebellious during the early years of Spanish occupation. We have already discussed their revolts during the latter part of the sixteenth century. These uprisings were continued in the following century. In 1625 the Mandaya of Cagayan revolted, killing their priests and damaging the churches. The leaders were two chiefs, Miguel Lanab and Alababan.² Governor Fernando de Silva, writing to the king in 1626, says

The affairs of the province of Cagayan are in a better state, for with the entry made by the two companies which I sent, more than a thousand of the rebels were reduced, with a considerable quantity of silver recovered which they had taken from the churches, and under a general pardon, more of them are continually becoming peaceful.³

From a narrative of 1627-1628 we learn that

a great portion of the province of Cagayan has been in revolt for some years.⁴ An extensive raid was made this year by our Spaniards and two thousand friendly Indians. Some of the enemy were killed, and eight villages burned. The country was laid waste, with the fields that the enemy had there, and thus were they punished for the insolent acts that they had committed.

¹ Blair and Robertson *The Philippine Islands 1493-1898* Vol. XXXVIII p. 93. The Arthur H. Clark Company Publishers.

² See *ibid.* Vol. XXXII pp. 147-152.

³ *Ibid.* Vol. XXII p. 95.

⁴ *Ibid.* Vol. XXII, p. 211.

Caraga revolt, 1630 In Caraga, Mindanao, there was a revolt in 1630 which resulted in the killing of the Spanish commander with twenty soldiers and four Recollect missionaries. A severe punishment was inflicted on the rebels¹

This uprising gave us anxiety enough, as it seemed to be the beginning of a universal mutiny, and it was particularly disturbing to us, as all our missions are in the neighborhood of the said province of Caraga, which is gradually being subdued and the leaders of the mutiny punished²

Cagayan insurrection, 1639 In March of 1639 "a very disastrous insurrection occurred in the province of Cagayan, in some villages retired among some mountains, called Mandayas"³ This insurrection was caused by the cruelty of the alcalde mayor, for

so many were the burdens that they [the Spaniards] put upon the shoulders of the wearied Indians for their support that the latter considered themselves as conquered, especially because of the ill treatment that they experienced from the commandant of the said fort³ The mine of anger exploded, because the said commandant punished one of the principal women, because she had displeased him, by forcing her to pound rice for a whole day, she and her husband were so angry thereat that they became the chief promoters of the insurrection

More than twenty soldiers were killed, and the church and convent burned, though the Spanish curate was allowed to escape with "his clothes, the ornaments from the sacristy, images, crosses, and books"³

Bulacan revolt, 1643 In 1643 a native of Borneo by the name of Pedro Ladia, claiming to be descended from Rajah Matanda, aroused the people of Malolos, Bulacan, against

¹ See Blair and Robertson *The Philippine Islands 1493-1898* Vol XXIV pp 175 177 216 The Arthur H Clark Company, Publishers

² *Ibid* Vol XXIV, p 229

³ *Ibid* Vol XXXV pp 47-48

Spanish sovereignty, and with the large following he attracted would have caused much trouble, had not his plan been discovered and prevented. He paid with his life for his scheme.¹

Visayan revolt, 1649-1650. This was another revolt which showed the general feeling of dissatisfaction among the Filipinos and their readiness to make common cause for the purpose of throwing off the Spanish yoke. The cause of this uprising is told by Father Díaz

Governor Don Diego Fajardo — with the intention of relieving the near-by provinces of Tagalos and Pampanga from the burden of working, at the harbor of Cavite, in the building of galleons and vessels necessary for the conservation and defense of these islands — had ordered the alcaldes of Leite and other provinces to send men thence to Cavite for that employment.² That was a difficult undertaking, because of the distance of more than one hundred leguas, and the troubles and wrongs to the said Indians that would result from their leaving their homes for so long a time. The father ministers went to the alcaldes, and the latter to Manila, to represent those troubles and wrongs, but the only thing that they obtained was a more stringent order to execute the mandate without more reply.

The people of Palapag, Leyte, initiated the revolutionary movement under the leadership of Juan Ponce Sumoroy, "a very influential man and a bad Christian,"² and Pedro Caamug. June 1, 1649, marked the beginning of the revolt with the killing of the curate of Palapag. Soon other villages followed, then other islands and provinces joined the movement, — northern Mindanao, Zamboanga, Cebu, Masbate, Camiguin, and even Albay and Camarines. Even Governor Diego Fajardo was concerned, and sent troops from Manila, the best Spaniards and Pampangos he could enlist; other *Filipino* troops from other provinces also came.

¹ See Blair and Robertson, *The Philippine Islands 1493-1898*, Vol XXXVIII, pp 98-99. The Arthur H. Clark Company, Publishers

² *Ibid* Vol XXXVIII, pp 114-115

Likewise the fleet of Zamboanga came up with four caracoas and some Spaniards, and four hundred Lutaos, these are Indians of that region who have been recently converted to our holy faith from the errors of the cursed sect of Mahomet¹ Their commandant was their master of camp Don Francisco Ugbo, a Lutao, and a brave man, and their *sargento-mayor* Don Alonso Macobo, of the same nation

With the valuable help of so many "friendly Indians," the usual result came to pass — the rebel fort was taken by assault, and another rebellion put down. In the words of Concepción, after the rebellion was put down in Leyte,

the Indians of Bisayas remained more quiet, by those so costly experiences they had been undeceived, and had learned that it is impossible to shake off the Spanish yoke, by force or by fraud, their wildness subdued by trade and intercourse [with us], they recognize that they ought not to thrust aside what produces so many advantages for them in being treated by our sovereign as his children *

Rebellion in Pampanga, 1660–1661 This revolt is interesting because in it is illustrated the colonial policy of "divide and conquer," so ably applied by Governor Sabiniano Manrique de Lara. In it also is revealed a certain tendency on the part of the leaders of the people to curry favor with the ruling class in order to maintain themselves in power. The more remote cause of this revolt is ascribed by Diaz to the natural love of peoples to be free. He says

The more warlike provinces of these islands ascertained the unusual events which had caused our forces to be so small however much prudence dissimulated these, and they sought to avail themselves of so good an opportunity, deeming it a suitable time for recovering their liberty, a gift of priceless value² Subjugation is always a matter of coercion and this in turn needs other and greater

¹ Blair and Robertson *The Philippine Islands 1493–1898* Vol XXXVIII p 121 The Arthur H. Clark Company Publishers

² *Ibid* Vol XXXVIII p 131 ³ *Ibid* Vol XXXVIII pp 140–143

violence that it may repress this natural inclination, and in natives whose condition makes them abject this desire increases more vehemently

The first who decided to try fortune by experience were the Pampangos, the most warlike and prominent people of these islands, and near to Manila [Their rebellion was] all the worse because these people had been trained in the military art in our own schools, in the fortified posts of Ternate, Zamboanga, Jolo, Caraga, and other places, where their valor was well known, This people were harassed by repeated requisitions for cutting timber, for the continual building of galleons, and they received no satisfaction for many purchases of rice for which the money was due them

Setting fire to the huts in which they had lodged, they declared, by the light of the fierce flames, their rash intention, and as leader of their revolt they appointed an Indian chief named Don Francisco Manago a native of the village of Mexico, who was master of camp for his Majesty

Efforts of the curates and the government to pacify the rebels proved in vain These rebels

gathered in a strong force in the village of Bacolor, closing the mouths of the rivers with stakes, in order to hinder the commerce of that province with Manila, and they wrote letters to the provinces of Pangasinan and Ilocos, urging them to follow their example and throw off the heavy yoke of the Spaniards, and to kill all of the latter who might be in those provinces ¹

Governor Manrique de Lara immediately repaired to Macabebe, accompanied by the high officials of the army This unexpected arrival of the highest representatives of the Spanish hierarchy weakened the resolution of the Macabebes In order to prevent the people of Pangasinan from making common cause with those of Pampanga, Governor Manrique de Lara's next move was to insure the loyalty of Juan Macapagal, chief of Arayat To that end he

¹ Blair and Robertson *The Philippine Islands 1493-1898* Vol XXXVIII, p 145 The Arthur H Clark Company Publishers

wrote a letter to Don Juan Macapagal, in which, assuming his fidelity to his Majesty, he ordered that chief to come to confer with him at Macabebe¹ Don Sabiniano treated him with great kindness, accompanied with promises [of reward], with which the fidelity of Macapagal was easily secured Don Sabiniano made him master-of-camp of his people, and, as pledges for his constance, asked him for his children and wife, on the pretext of assuring in Manila their safety from the rebels — thus mingling his confidence with measures of suspicion, but veiling this with pretexts of protection

The effect of this special favor granted to one chief was to demoralize the others Let us continue quoting Díaz

The chiefs and leaders of the mutiny were already finding that their followers had grown remiss, and the courage of those who supported them had diminished and they despaired of the constance of these¹ They were still more depressed by the news which they received of the extreme honors which the governor paid to the wife and children of Don Juan Macapagal — sending them to Manila with great distinction, and entrusting them to the gallant care of General Don Francisco de Figueroa, the alcalde-mayor of Tondo — and of their entertainment and kind reception, in which they were served with a display beyond what their condition and nature required At this demonstration the envy of the rebels guessed the superior position to which Macapagal's fidelity would raise him, above all those of his people By the honors paid to this chief, the governor allured the ambition of the rest, and introduced discord in order to separate by craft that body which ambition held together Our religious availed themselves of this opportunity, and like thieves in the house, since they understood the natural disposition of the Indians, they neglected no occasion to persuade some and allure others with promises — an endeavor which, although the governor had not charged it upon them, they prosecuted with great earnestness on account of the great risk which was incurred by the Christian church in such disturbances

¹ Blair and Robertson *The Philippine Islands 1493-1898* Vol XXXVIII, pp 148-150 The Arthur H. Clark Company, Publishers

Soon the results of these efforts became available, for the chief promoters of the rebellion, finding the courage of their followers so weakened, began to search for paths for their own safety. They despatched our father Fray Andrés de Salazar with a letter to Don Sabiniano, in which they alleged, as an excuse for the disturbance, the arrears of pay which were due them for their services, together with the loans of their commodities which had been taken to Manila for the support of the paid soldiers, they entreated his Lordship to command that these dues be paid, so that their people, delighted with this payment and therefore *laying aside* their fury, could be disarmed by their chiefs and sent back to their homes

The final outcome was as follows of the 200,000 pesos due the Pampangos, the governor offered to pay 14,000 as partial payment of the indebtedness of the government; a general amnesty was granted in order to avoid all bloodshed; the people were to continue to cut timber, although they would be given time to attend to cultivation

Pangasinan revolts, 1660. The revolutionary movement of Pampanga spread to Pangasinan, the government being unable to prevent it. Under the leadership of Andrés Malong of Binalatongan, "his Majesty's master-of-camp for that tribe," this revolt gained a large following. After proclaiming himself king of Pangasinan, Malong prepared to extend his sovereignty beyond the confines of that province. To that end he sent Pedro Gumapos, on whom he conferred the title of count, to the Ilocos and Cagayan regions with 3000 men; Melchor de Vera he sent with letters to Pampanga, Ilocos, and Cagayan; and he secured the aid of Pampanga with 6000 men and the alliance of the Zambales. These expeditions were quite successful, but Malong himself in Binalatongan did not fare so well. He was *attacked by the government forces before* he could secure the aid of the troops under Gumapos, and was later defeated and captured in battle. All the leaders of the revolt were executed

Thus was finally extinguished this fire which rebellion kindled in the province of Pangasinan which threatened great destruction — although it wrought no slight havoc in the burning of the two villages Bagnotan and Binalatongan, which were the most important in that province, and up to the present time they have not been able to recover the wealth and population that they formerly had ¹

Revolt of Ilocos, 1661 This revolt was aroused by that of Pangasinan. When Gumapos came to Ilocos with his army, he was joined by local leaders, among whom were Pedro Almazan, Juan Magsanop and Gaspar Cristóbal. In the end the government forces, with many "friendly Indians," succeeded in defeating the rebels.

Summary of these revolts in Luzon It is to be noted that the Pampanga, Pangasinan and Ilocos revolts formed part of a general movement in the island to rise against Spanish sovereignty. But the revolt was of interest also to other parts of the Philippines for in the words of Father Diaz, it was

a fire which threatened to consume the peace and obedience of the other provinces of these islands whose people were on the watch for its outcome in order to declare themselves [rebels] and prove Fortune, and to gain what seemed to them liberty ²

But the movement failed because, to quote Diaz again,

some of them could not unite with the others and, although all desired liberty, they did not work together to secure the means for attaining it and therefore they experienced a heavier [yoke of] subjection ²

Among those on whom the "penalties of justice" were inflicted on account of these revolts, Diaz gives the following

In ³ Vigan Don Pedro Gumapos was shot through the back and afterward the hand with which he took the staff from the bishop was

¹ Blair and Robertson *The Philippine Islands 1493-1898* Vol XXXVIII p 180 The Arthur H. Clark Company Publishers

² *Ibid* Vol XXXVIII pp 211, 212 ³ *Ibid* Vol XXXVIII pp 209-210

cut off, and Don Cristóbal Ambagán, Don Pedro Almazán, Don Tomás Boaya, Don Pedro de la Peña, and others, to the number of sixteen, were hanged. In Binalatongan was erected a square galows, as in Vigán, and the following were hanged: Don Melchor de Vera, Don Francisco de Pacadua, Don Francisco Along, and Don Jacinto Macasiag, a Sangley mestizo, named Domingo Isón, although he said that he died innocent, a man of half-Malabar blood, named Lorenzo, and others, to the number of fourteen. . . They promptly shot Don Andrés Malóng, placed in the middle, seated on a stone, and this was the end of his unhappy reign in Pangasinán. Afterward, in Mexico, punishment was inflicted on Don Francisco and Don Cristóbal Mañago, who were shot, and some were hanged — Don Juan Palasigui, Don Marcos Marcasián, Sargento-mayor Chombillo, Supil and Baluyot of Guagua, the amanuensis, and many others. José Celis, the lawyer, was carried to Manila, where he was hanged¹

Oton revolt, 1663. In 1663 a man by the name of Tapar gained ascendancy over many people in Oton, Panay, by establishing a new church with a modified form of Christianity as its principal tenet. To suppress this new religion soldiers were sent for, but before using force the curate decided to use persuasion, in this attempt he was killed by the followers of Tapar²

Cagayan rebellion, 1718. "After the year 1718 the whole province of Cagayan rose in revolt, and that disturbance began especially in that district of Ytabes where the said village of Tuao is located"³ The leaders were Magtangaga and Tomás Sinaguingan

Uprisings near Manila, 1745-1746. During the years 1745 and 1746 there were agrarian revolts in several provinces near Manila on account of occupations of Filipino lands by religious orders. In a royal decree of November 7, 1751, the government in Manila was

¹ See Blair and Robertson, *The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898*, Vol. XLI, pp. 58-85. The Arthur H. Clark Company, Publishers

² See *ibid.* Vol. XXXVIII, pp. 215-223

³ *Ibid.* Vol. XLIII, p. 79

...commanded to exercise hereafter the utmost vigilance in order that the Indians of the said villages may not be molested by the religious, and that the latter shall be kept in check in the unjust acts which they may in future attempt against not only those Indians but other natives of those islands ¹

From the same decree it appears that in the provinces of Bulacan, Cavite, Laguna, and what today is Rizal (especially in the towns of Hagonoy, Taguig, Parañaque, San Mateo, Bacoor, Cavite Viejo, Silang, Imus, and Biñan) the people revolted because the religious orders had usurped

.. the lands of the Indians, without leaving them the freedom of the rivers for their fishing, or allowing them to cut wood for their necessary use, or even to collect the wild fruits, nor did they allow the natives to pasture on the hills near their villages the carabaos which they used for agriculture ²

There were also frauds committed in the land surveys by means of which the people were deprived of their lands "This," says the decree, "had caused the disturbances, revolts, and losses which had been experienced in the above-mentioned villages" ²

In 1745 there were uprisings in several towns of Batangas on account of land troubles Of these Concepción says.

With the pretext that the fathers of the Society [of Jesus] had usurped from them cultivated lands, and the untilled lands on the hills, on which they kept enormous herds of horned cattle — for which reason, and because the Jesuits said that these were their own property, they would not allow the natives to supply themselves with wood, rattans, and bamboos, unless they paid fixed prices — the Indians committed shocking acts of hostility on the ranches of Lian and Nasugbu, killing and plundering the tenants of those lands, with many other ravages ³ Nor did they respect the

¹ Blair and Robertson, *The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898*, Vol XLVIII, p. 33 The Arthur H Clark Company, Publishers

² *Ibid* Vol XLVIII, pp 28-30

³ *Ibid* Vol XLVIII, p 141.

houses of the [Jesuit] fathers, but attacked and plundered them, and partly burned them, as well as many other buildings independent of these

The town of Taal followed Troops were sent from Manila, and the revolt was quelled

Revolt of Bohol, 1744 The immediate cause of the revolt of Bohol was the arbitrary conduct of a Jesuit curate who was in charge of the district of Inabangan, and refused to bury in consecrated ground the body of a brother of one Francisco Dagonoy Angered at this treatment, Dagonoy gathered as many as 3000 followers and attacked the Jesuits Bishop Espeleta of Cebu tried to pacify the rebels but they would not listen This rebellion was not quelled till after the first quarter of the nineteenth century ¹

II REVOLTS AFTER THE BRITISH OCCUPATION

General consideration Blair and Robertson suggest that the ease with which Manila was taken by the British gave the Filipinos the idea of separation from Spain, or at least a desire for a larger degree of independence, ' although in truth, all such ideas appeared to be effectively stifled with the strengthening power of the religious orders " ²

It is a fact that during the period of British occupation there was a general revolutionary spirit pervading the Philippines, which resulted in a series of revolts as follows

Silan revolt The most serious of the revolts which occurred at this time was that headed by Diego Silan It started as a protest against the abuses of the alcalde mayor and the excessive tributes At the same time Diego Silan, who was well known in the provinces of central Luzon, where he had been employed by the Spanish as a letter carrier arrived from

¹ See Blair and Robertson *The Philippine Islands 1493-1898* Vol XLIII pp 147 148 The Arthur H Clark Company Publishers

² *Ibid* Vol XLIX p 11

Manila. He began to advocate nonpayment of tributes and the organization of the people in order to defend themselves against the English, in view of the fact that the latter had taken Manila and that the Spaniards could no longer defend the country. The alcalde mayor imprisoned Silan for this, but he was soon released. He then renewed his preparations with greater vigor. He demanded the deposition of the alcalde mayor, the appointment of another suggested by the rebels, the election of one of the four chiefs of Vigan as justice, the expulsion of all the Spaniards and mestizos from the province, and his own appointment as leader against the British. Meanwhile the British tried to gain the favor of Silan by offering him arms and munitions and making him alcalde of the province of Ilocos. A letter from the British to Silan, after recounting the Filipino and English common causes of grievance against the Spanish nation, says

In a short time, your Grace will have troops and war supplies.¹ This despatch is to assure your Grace of our friendship and my satisfaction at receiving your letter, and because of your loyalty. In order that your Grace may communicate it to all the people, especially to those under your command, I am sending your Grace a small bronze cannon in token of affection.

I hope that the provinces of Pangasinan and Cagayan will soon follow your worthy example and tear off the chains of Spanish slavery.

Silan secured a large following and soon defeated an army raised by the Bishop of Nueva Segovia. Although he gained control of the Ilocos region, he was unable to carry out his plans. It was decided by his enemies to have him murdered and a Spanish mestizo assigned to that work put an end to his life. This untimely death did not end the revolt, however, for Silan's wife continued the revolutionary movement. With an uncle of Silan for leader, the rebels put up a fight at Kabugao,

¹ Blair and Robertson *The Philippine Islands 1493-1898* Vol XLIX p 162
The Arthur H. Clark Company Publishers

but were defeated Silan's wife attacked Vigan but met with defeat She was later caught and executed ¹

Pangasinan revolt Another revolt during this period of British occupation was that of Pangasinan which started in Binalatongan on November 3 1762 This was another protest against the tributes and the alcalde mayor and a petition that the justices of the towns be changed Even with the aid of Filipino soldiers the rebels were not quieted till 1765 Juan de la Cruz Palaris was the leader of this revolt which gained headway in the important towns of Pangasinan especially Calasiao, Magaldan Dagupan San Jacinto Manaoag Santa Barbara, Malasiqui Bayambang and Paniqui ²

Cagayan revolt In Cagayan also there was a revolt as a result of the British occupation The people of Ilagan proclaimed themselves independent on February 2 1763 committing acts of violence similar to those in Pangasinan and Ilocos The revolt spread to Cabagan and Tuguegarao under the leadership of Chiefs Dabo and Juan Marayac Again with the aid of 'friendly towns' the rebels were defeated and hanged ³

Other revolts During this period there were also uprisings in Laguna Batangas and Tayabas (in the towns of San Pablo, Tanauan and Tayabas), in Cavite and Camarines there were revolts, and even in Samar, Panay Cebu and in distant Zamboanga there were disturbances of the peace all of them reflections of the spirit of the times and the loss of Spanish prestige on account of their defeat by the British ³

Conclusion The royal fiscal Francisco Leandro de Viana, writing in 1765, drew the following lesson from the many revolts of this period

¹ See José Montero y Vidal *Historia General de Filipinas* Vol II chap III 1887

² See ibid Vol III chap III See also Blair and Robertson *The Philippine Islands 1493-1898* Vol XLIX pp 302-305 The Arthur H. Clark Company Publishers

³ See José Montero y Vidal *Historia General de Filipinas* Vol III chap III 1887

The recent example of Pangasinan is the most melancholy warning¹ What obstinacy and blindness! what insolence and aversion toward the Spaniards! what treasons and apostasies!

And then his warning

It is certain that the Indians desire to throw off the mild yoke of the Spaniards, that they are Christians, and vassals of our king simply through fear, and fail to be either Christians or vassals when they consider us weak, and that they neither respect nor obey any one, when they find an opportunity for resistance¹

III CONFLICTS BETWEEN THE DUTCH AND THE SPANIARDS

Trouble with the Dutch The conflict between the Dutch and the Spaniards, which had its beginning toward the end of the sixteenth century, as we have already pointed out continued to distract the peace of the Philippines till the third quarter of the seventeenth century

Expedition to the Moluccas, 1606 During the term of Governor Pedro Bravo de Acuna (1602-1606) an expedition sailed for the Moluccas in January, 1606 with 1423 Spaniards and 1600 Filipinos The object was to oust the Dutch from Amboina and Tidore which were taken from the Portuguese in February of 1605 This enterprise of Governor Acuna met with success, it captured Tidore and Ternate, and secured by means of a treaty the allegiance of the king of Ternate, who surrendered all his forts restored all captives, and gave up the villages of Christian natives in adjacent islands Acuna left a strong garrison in Ternate, and carried the king and other captives to Manila²

Expedition during the term of Juan de Silva During the term of Governor Juan de Silva (1609-1616) the Dutch, under Admiral Wittert, landed in Panay, but were repulsed by a

¹ Blair and Robertson *The Philippine Islands 1493-1898* Vol XLVIII p 202 The Arthur H Clark Company Publishers

² See *ibid* Vol XVI pp 217 317 See also José Montero y Vidal *Historia General de Filipinas* Vol. I chap xi 1887

Philippines, and on April 14 was defeated in an engagement against the Spanish fleet at Playa Honda off the coast of Mariveles

Conflict over Formosa, 1622 In 1622 the Dutch established a fort and a trading post on Pescadores Islands in order to intercept with more vigor the trading vessels going to Manila from China and Japan In 1624 they moved their settlement to Formosa There they built a strong fort A report of 1626 says

The Dutch also have a stock farm, which they began with cattle and horses brought from Japon¹ They are now at peace with the natives, with whom they were formerly at war and who killed some of their men The Chinese have gone there with a great abundance of silks and other merchandise to trade Consequently, they have made on that account a large *alcaceria*, where there are generally more than six thousand Chinese From that, notable damage can ensue to Castilians Portuguese and Chinese, since the Dutch are in the passage by which one gets from here to China, and from Macan to Japon

The Spanish sent an expedition to Formosa, this arrived on May 7, 1626, and established the towns of Camaurri and Tan Tchuy for the protection of the Manila China trade During the term of Governor Sebastian Hurtado de Corcuera (1635-1644) the Dutch gained exclusive control of Formosa by driving out the Spaniards This occurred on August 24, 1642 after a struggle of seven days, the Dutch capturing 40 guns, provisions 25,000 pesos in silver, and not less than half a million pesos' worth of merchandise²

Abandonment of Jolo The Dutch continued to make their raiding expeditions to the Philippines, entering into alliance with some Moro chiefs The danger from these Moros and the increasing raids of the Dutch who were often seen even off

¹ Blair and Robertson *The Philippine Islands 1493-1898* Vol XX p 142 The Arthur H Clark Company Publishers

² See José Montero y Vidal *Historia General de Filipinas* Vol I cap XXI 1887 See also Blair and Robertson *The Philippine Islands 1493-1898* Vol XXII pp 97-99 The Arthur H Clark Company Publishers

the coasts of Ilocos and Pangasinan, induced the Spanish government to abandon Jolo (Fig 40) and destroy the fortifications there. To this end a treaty was made with the sultan of Jolo, and the Spanish troops were concentrated in Zamboanga.

In 1646 the Dutch were repulsed in their attack against Caraga, in Surigao. Then they went north, where they were defeated off the coast of Mindoro in various engagements.



FIG 40 JOLO, THE GREAT CENTER OF MOHAMMEDAN OPPOSITION

In 1647 the Dutch appeared in Manila Bay with twelve ships; repulsed at Cavite, they went to Bataan and captured the town of Abucay. But troops from Pampanga came and drove the enemies away.

Abandonment of Zamboanga, 1662. In view of the increasing dangers from the Moros and the Dutch, the Spanish government was forced to carry its retrenchment policy further. In 1656 the governor of the Moluccas, Francisco de Esteybar, was ordered to take charge of the fort of Zamboanga, and was made at the same time lieutenant-governor and captain-general of the provinces of the southern Philippines.

In 1662 the Philippines were threatened with a serious invasion by the famous Chinese adventurer, Kue Sing, as has already been discussed in connection with the Chinese in the Philippines. As a part of the preparations made by Governor SIBONINO Manrique de Lara (1653-1663), the forts of Zamboanga, Sabanilla, Calamianes, and Iligan were abandoned, likewise, the fort at Ternate. With the Spaniards went a group of native Christians from Ternate, who settled in Margondon, Cavite, where to this day they constitute a group with unique characteristics. With the abandonment of Spanish possessions in the Moluccas the old quarrel of the Spaniards with the Dutch came to an end.¹

IV CONFLICTS BETWEEN THE MOROS AND THE SPANIARDS

Conflicts during the early seventeenth century The attacks of Magindanao and Jolo Moros continued throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. These attacks were characterized by destruction of property, loss of lives and capture of many inhabitants to be sold elsewhere as slaves. There was almost no year that did not witness a Moro raid upon some Christian community. These attacks were more than piratical raids, they represented also a great conflict between two religions, Christianity and Mohammedanism.

At the beginning of the seventeenth century we find Governor Pedro Bravo de Acuna leading an expedition in person. In 1611 Governor Juan de Silva sent out a fruitless expedition. Governor Juan Nino de Tavora took active interest in subduing the Moros and met with success in Jolo, Basilan, and Mindanao.

In² spite of repeated expeditions against Mindanao, Jolo and Basilan in which the pirates suffered loss of many vessels, they were

¹ See José Montero y Vidal *Historia General de Filipinas* Vol I chaps. xxv xxvi 1887

² Ibid Vol I chap 11. See Blair and Robertson *The Philippine Islands 1493-1898* Vol XVIII pp 104 105 The Arthur H. Clark Company Publishers

not checked nor was it possible to stop the damage which they caused on the towns belonging to provinces of Spain, since the inhabitants were scared and fled to the mountains on the approach of the pirates in spite of efforts of the friars who gave the people example of resistance by being the first to take up arms

Hernando de los Rios Coronel for a long time procurator general of the Philippines in a memorial to the king states

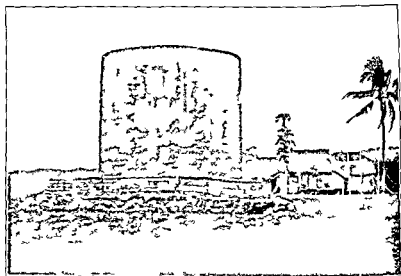


FIG 41 MORO WATCHTOWER AT CEBU

that the Christian Filipinos could not defend themselves as they used to because they were not allowed to carry arms hence in view of Spanish inability to give protection they asked that they be given their former freedom Referring to Moro-raids the memorial says in part

The worst is that these last few years they have committed greater ones so that there is no Christian or friendly Indian who is safe in his house or country These although Indians set forth arguments that must have shamed your Majesty's governors con

siderably, since, although the latter are so careful not only to collect their tributes, but to impose continually so many taxes, and to cause the Indians innumerable troubles, yet they do not defend them from their enemies. Consequently the Indians say, "Let us be free, and let us have arms, and we shall be able to defend ourselves, as we did before the advent of the Spaniards." And, surely, did not the religious — especially those of the Society, who instruct nearly all those islands — entertain them with hopes and fair arguments they would all have revolted, as some have done. I have related this to your Majesty so that you may order your governor to remedy that matter, which is so incumbent upon your Majesty's royal conscience. But how poorly he informs your Majesty, since at the very moment when those people were destroying your churches the governor wrote that they were all peaceful and quiet.

Change of policy in 1635 The inadequacy of the Spanish expeditions against the Moros led to a change of policy during the term of Governor Juan Cerezo de Salamanca (1633-1635). In the year 1634 the Moros were especially aggressive, and even attacked the capital of Tayabas, killing several friars and many inhabitants. In the Visayas greater havoc was wrought: in Leyte they raided and burned the towns of Sogod, Cabalian, Canamucan, Ormoc, and Baybay, killing many inhabitants. There were 18 boats and more than 1500 Moros in these attacks. The whole Visayan group was terribly alarmed, and upon the insistent petitions of the Jesuits a fort was established in Zamboanga, for the maintenance of which every tributary in the Visayan Islands had to pay a ganta of rice, a contribution which was subsequently required from all the provinces and which was known as the *donatio de Zamboanga*. This fort was placed under the command of Juan de Chaves with 300 Spaniards and 1000 Visayans. Father Melchor de Vera, a Jesuit, directed the building of it, and to supply it with water a canal was built from a river.

The term of Governor Sebastian Hurtado de Corcuera saw a great expedition organized against the Moros, led by the

governor himself with a force of 760 Spaniards and many Visayans and Pampangos. The Moro stronghold at Lamitan, which was defended by 1000 Moros, was the objective of the attack. The fort was taken by assault in 1637, and many cannon and muskets were captured. Corralat, the great Magindanao chief, was able to escape.¹

Jolo was the next objective of Governor Corcuera. This was defended by 4000 Moros, but it was taken after a siege. A garrison of 200 Pampangos was left here, and Corcuera returned to Manila in May of 1638. From Jolo the work of conquest was continued, resulting in the subjugation of the valley of the Rio Grande, and later of the Malanao region, or Lake Lanao.²

Conflicts during the eighteenth century. In spite of Spanish successes, the Moros continued their depredations, securing aid from the Mohammedans of Borneo and Celebes, and encouraged by the Dutch. We have already seen in our discussion of conflicts with the Dutch how, in 1662, Zamboanga was abandoned. This step gave further stimulus to Moro raids, and till the end of the seventeenth century and the beginning of the eighteenth petitions poured into Spain, especially from the Jesuits, asking for the reestablishment of the fort at Zamboanga. A reflection of the rivalry raging between the different religious orders is seen in the strong opposition of the other religious corporations to the reopening of Zamboanga, which would mean the increase of Jesuit jurisdiction and power. Although a royal decree ordered the reestablishment of the presidio of Zamboanga, it was not until 1718, while Fernando Manuel de Bustillo Bustamante was governor (1717-1719), that it was carried out in the face of a negative vote on the part of the other Manila authorities.³

¹ See José Montero y Vidal, *Historia General de Filipinas*, Vol I, chap xvi 1887

² See *ibid* Vol I, chaps xvii, xviii. See also Blair and Robertson, *The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898*, Vol XLI, pp 277-324. The Arthur H. Clark Company, Publishers

³ See José Montero y Vidal, *Historia General de Filipinas*, Vol I, chap xxxv 1887

Attempted peace with Jolo During the term of Marquis de Torre Campo as governor (1721-1729) a treaty of peace was signed between the sultan of Jolo and the government. The principal provisions were that there should be free trade between Jolo and Manila as well as with other provinces, that the Christian captives in Jolo should be released, that subjects of the sultan might become Christians, that the island of Basilan should be returned to Spain, and, finally, that in case of war neither should be obliged to aid the other, except in the case of a common enemy, when mutual help might be given.¹

Nevertheless, other Moros continued to make their customary raids. In May of 1730 the Moros of Tawi Tawi with 20 large vessels and many smaller ones and 3000 men attacked Palawan and the Calamianes, and even attempted to take Zamboanga giving the Spanish forces much to do.²

The power of the Moros An indication of the power of the Moros about the middle of the eighteenth century is seen in the coming of Sultan Ali Mudin of Jolo to Manila. In a critical tone Father Martinez de Zuniga says

The Jesuits had been urging our Catholic monarch Phelipe V, and constrained him to the inglorious act of writing to the kings of Joló and Mindanao, the governor sent ambassadors to deliver his letters and make an alliance with the Moros.³ Those petty kings were greatly delighted at the honor thus done them by a king so great as that of Espana, and in order to gratify him by complying with his requests to them, consented to receive missionaries into their countries

Through the intercession of Jesuit fathers the good will of the young Ali Mudin was gained. In the meantime, in 1748 the sultan's brother, Bantilan, usurped Ali Mudin's place. To quote Martinez de Zuniga

¹ See José Montero y Vidal *Historia General de Filipinas* Vol I chap xxvi 1887

² See *ib d* Vol I chap xxxi

³ Blair and Robertson *The Philippine Islands 1493-1898* Vol XLVIII PP 148 149 The Arthur H Clark Company Publishers

The sultan Alimudin likewise fled from his kingdom in order to go to Manila, to seek aid from the governor in order to punish the rebels who had given him the lance thrust and conspired against his person¹ He reached Zamboanga, and there the Spaniards furnished him with means to proceed to Manila, he entered that city with a retinue of seventy persons, with whom he was lodged in a house in the suburb of Binondo, which was kept at his disposal at the cost of the royal treasury Afterward he made his public entry [into Manila] and was received with great ostentation, the leading persons in Manila visited him, and presented to him gold chains, robes diamond rings, sashes and gold headed canes — so that he was astonished at so much magnificence, and at the generosity of the Spaniards, for whatever he needed for the support of his household was supplied to him from the royal treasury

This was in January, 1749

The question whether Ali Mudin should be baptized or not became the cause of dissension among the rival factions in Manila But he was finally baptized in Paniqui, Pangasinan, and was received in Manila with great pomp and ceremony Mean while Bantilan, the usurper, continued to rule Jolo and harass the Spaniards with his expeditions Governor José Francisco de Obando (1750-1754) sent out an expedition with Ali Mudin, but the latter's conduct proved his treachery, and he was sent back to Manila and confined a prisoner at Fort Santiago

Ali Mudin tried to conduct peace negotiations with Bantilan, and to that end, with the permission of the governor, sent his own daughter Fátima, who had been imprisoned with him, to Jolo There a peace agreement was entered into, but there was mutual distrust, and the wars continued worse than ever² In the words of Martínez de Zuniga

The³ governor had very little confidence in the promises of the Moros or in their treaties because they had always broken them with the same facility with which they had made them, and he

¹ Blair and Robertson *The Philippine Islands 1493-1898*, Vol XLVIII pp 150-151 The Arthur H Clark Company Publishers

² See *ibid* Vol XLVIII pp 158-166 ³ *Ibid* Vol XLVIII p 167

prepared a strong squadron [to go] against them, in order to compel them by force to observe the treaties which he did not expect they would keep of their own accord. Nor did his suspicions prove to be groundless, for in that year (which was 1754) occurred the worst inroad which those islanders had made into the Philippines. In all districts they made raids with blood and fire, killing religious, Indians, and Spaniards, burning and plundering villages, and taking captive thousands of Christians, not only in the islands near Jolo, but throughout our territories, even in the provinces nearest to the capital Manila.

As to the subsequent fate of Ali Mudin, he was captured by the English when they took Manila in 1762 and was sent back by them to Jolo.

The worst periods of Moro wars. The Moros continued with their attacks. The last years of the eighteenth century were especially characterized by violent and frequent raids. This period marks the climax of Moro piracy, for with the advent of steamboats during the nineteenth century it was possible for the first time to check and lessen the danger from the Moros.

An important effect of the capture of Manila by the British was the renewal of Moro piratical incursions, and on account of the many disturbances elsewhere in the Philippines, the Spaniards could do nothing to check Moro attacks.

Those cruel pirates therefore ravaged the entire archipelago, even capturing fishing boats in Manila Bay, and everywhere the coast villages were destroyed or depopulated and the native population kept in continual terror of this inhuman foe.¹

There was a general attack by the Joloans and Magin danaos, and

so insolent did they become that they captured two richly laden champans on the Mariveles coast, and entrenched themselves at Mamburao, on Mindoro Island, and sold their Filipino captives to the Macasar traders who resorted thither.¹

¹ Blair and Robertson *The Philippine Islands 1493-1898* Vol. L pp. 32-34
The Arthur H. Clark Company Publishers

Throughout his long term of office (1793-1806), Governor Rafael Maria de Aguilar tried to check the incursions of the Moros who in 1793 attacked even the coasts of Luzon. In 1794 he called a council of the leading military officers and persons experienced in Moro wars. It was shown that the Moros captured yearly about 500 persons, whom they held as slaves — except the old who “were sold to the inhabitants of Sandakan who sacrificed these captives to the shades of their deceased relatives or of prominent personages”¹

It was also shown in that council that from 1778 until the end of 1793 the Philippine government had spent the sum of 1 519 209 pesos fuertes for vessels, expeditions, wages, and other materials in the warfare with the Moros, to say nothing of the other losses caused by their raids.

In the year 1798 a strong force of Moros attacked the village of Baler and other towns on the east coast of Luzon, devastating them and seizing four hundred and fifty captives, among whom were three parish priests, one of whom was sold by them for 2500 pesos. These pirates had their headquarters on Burias Island, from which they issued in making their raids.

In order to improve the means of defense against the Moro attacks, the council called by Governor Aguilar resolved to strengthen all the forts on the coasts, and to rely more on modern built boats than on the old *vintas* that had been used up to that time. To that end, a shipyard was established in Binondo in 1794. However, in 1799 the

authorities decided that it was more expedient that the warfare with the Moros be carried on by the provincial authorities with the direction and aid of the central government, and instructions to this effect were sent to all the *alcaldes mayor*²

¹ Blair and Robertson *The Philippine Islands 1493-1898* Vol. LI p. 26. The Arthur H. Clark Company Publishers.

² *Ibid.* Vol. LI pp. 27-28. For further study of Moro history see Najeed M. Saleeby, *Studies in Moro History, Law and Religion*. Bureau of Science Publication, Manila, 1905. See also Najeed M. Saleeby *History of Sulu*. Bureau of Science Publication, Manila, 1908.

V. CONFLICTS BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENT AND THE CHURCH

General character. We have already noted the earlier conflict between the government officials and the church officials. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries this conflict was continued with greater vigor and accompanied with more dramatic incidents. At the outset it should be remembered that the religious workers whose great educational and charitable achievements we have already discussed were at the same time public officials, for the church was then a part of the state; hence the political rivalry between the religious officials and the government officials. There was a keen struggle for political power, from the governor-general down to the alcaldes-mayor in the provinces, on one hand, and from the archbishop and religious orders down to the parish priests, on the other.

It should also be said that the spirit of rivalry engendered by this conflict permeated the Philippine government throughout the two centuries that we are studying, and, in fact, down to the end of the Spanish régime. The incidents which we shall discuss briefly are but isolated illustrations, yet they indicate the persistence of the political phenomenon we are tracing.

Conflicts of the early seventeenth century. A letter from the fiscal at Manila in 1606 shows that there was "no one to correct certain ecclesiastics,"¹ who interfered in local administration, making improper assessments on the people, and that the friars were practically incorrigible, and concludes thus:

It will be well for your Majesty to decree and grant authority to the Audiencia, that it may cause official investigation to be made into these matters and others which may arise, and that it may proceed as do the viceroys of Piru and Mexico.¹ For, so soon as friars are interfered with in any respect, they begin to declare that ecclesiastical censures have been incurred and disturbances are raised, which give occasion for scandal to the common people.

¹ Blair and Robertson, *The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898*, Vol. XIV, pp. 167-168. The Arthur H. Clark Company, Publishers.

A letter from the king in 1611 ordered the provincial of the Dominican order to stop the friars from meddling in affairs of government. The letter gives an interesting indication of the rivalry existing between the government provincial officer, the *alcalde mayor* and the parish priest, and shows also how the king in Spain was ever ready to counsel proper action to maintain friendly relations "for the service of God and my own." The letter follows:

By a letter from Don Juan de Silva, my governor and captain general there of the fifth of September 610, I have learned that several religious of your order, from various motives, usually oppose the things that are ordered for the sake of good government.¹ At times this has gone so far that incidents such as to cause anxiety have occurred. Such was the case in Nueva Segovia, regarding the Indian whom the *alcalde mayor* held prisoner, on appeal condemned to death by the Audiencia, who had ordered the sentence to be executed there. When the day before the execution arrived two friars went to the prison saying that they were going to confess him. They succeeded in being left alone with the prisoner in a room with a window opening on the street, and, having provided some one to take him to their convent, they thrust him out of the window, without the knowledge of the persons about the building, which resulted in a very scandalous affair. The *alcalde-mayor*, on learning of it, went to the convent to get possession of the prisoner, and found that for his greater security they had placed him upon the altar — which, as may be seen, was an improper action. When he attempted to take away the prisoner the friars treated the *alcalde mayor* very scurvily, and when he had removed the Indian they proceeded against him with censures and interdicts, in such wise that he had to return to the church, unpunished the man whom they themselves had delivered up when he was seized — demanding his death, and saying that it was best to execute him there as an example for all. Although it is understood that you made the proper remonstrances in this case yet, as I wish to know what they were, I charge you to advise me of it, and from this time forth to con-

¹ Blair and Robertson *The Philippine Islands 1493-1898* Vol XVII, pp 183-184. The Arthur H. Clark Company Publishers

tinue, with the care which I am sure you will exercise, to apply in all cases due remedy, as you are bound to do. I also charge you to maintain very friendly relations with the said Don Juan de Silva, my governor, to whom I am writing to maintain the same relations with you, on account of the importance of this for the service of God and my own.

Again in a letter from the king to Governor Alonso Tajarco in 1618 we see the growing powers of the religious orders in governmental matters, and the desire of the home government to put a stop to abuses of those powers.

It has also been understood that the religious orders resident in those islands live and comport themselves with more freedom and liberty than is proper, conformably to their profession and regulations, and particularly so the Augustinians.¹ It is also stated that occasional fees and dues that they levy for masses, burials and suffrages [for departed souls] are excessive, and likewise that they erect buildings and church edifices and their own houses, although they have no authority to do so except with my express permission, or by asking it from the governor of those islands, and then only in case of urgent necessity. Under this pretense and others they make allotments [of service] and new imports, on merely their own authority, upon the Indians, who are distressed and overburdened. For the remedy of this, it has seemed best to charge you to maintain all the authority that you can to prevent this from being done. For this purpose you will join with the archbishop, and both will summon the provincials, and, telling them the information that I have of this matter, you will charge them to make the reformation which is in every way obligatory upon them, since it is so greatly to the service of God our Lord and the public good, as may be seen.

To remedy the evils described in this letter, a royal decree was issued in May, 1620 ordering better treatment of the Indians.² How far the orders of the king as given in the royal letter and in the royal decree were complied with we learn

¹ Blair and Robertson *The Philippine Islands 1493-1898* Vol XVIII, pp 154-155. The Arthur H. Clark Company Publishers.

² See *ibid* Vol XIX, pp 40-41.

from a letter written by Governor Fajardo to the King, where he says that the required reform

did not seem necessary to the archbishop, but for my part I shall nevertheless carry it out, informing each one of the provincials separately, and trying to further the royal will of your Majesty, without allowing scandal to result by making this public, and difficulties from such things becoming known ¹

The governor continues to complain of the religious orders, and says that it is hard to attend to affairs of state and the pursuit of the many enemies threatening the Philippines without

the favor of the religious orders [which must be considered] in order not to annoy them, for most of them are easily irritated ¹

For, even when they have no cause for displeasure, there is no one who can bring them to reason, since it appears that they regard it as their vocation to be opposed to the government and to the governors, as they have done since their establishment in these islands, without a single exception — unless only it be Don Luis Perez Dasmarias, whom, with the asperity on which they pride themselves, and their tyrannical ways they subjected in such manner that they ruled him. In order that those who succeed me may continue attending to the service of your Majesty without the difficulties and quarrels which we, the former governors and I, have experienced, it will be expedient that your Majesty order them not to interfere so much in the government, and that they must restrain their audacious and insolent mode [of speech]. For this is so uncurbed and terrible that any honorable man would fear it on account of what the friars cast at him, to the prejudice of anyone who acts contrary to their wishes, and this they do not only through the pulpits, but by various other means, as I have said they did with the past governors — and particularly with Don Juan de Silva, my predecessor — and which I also have sufficiently experienced and suffered.

¹ Blair and Robertson *The Philippine Islands 1493-1898* Vol. LX pp. 69-70. The Arthur H. Clark Company Publishers.

The way the religious workers controlled the local government is described in another letter to the king

The friars serve as protectors to them and inspire them to boldness, and now by this path of protection, and again by that of punishment, the Indians are all being brought to recognize them as powerful lords, in both spiritual and temporal matters¹ So far has this gone that, if the *alcalde mayor* orders anything, even though it be just and necessary and for the service of your Majesty, if the friar orders something else, it must be as the latter desires, at least for the time being until a more urgent order is issued Your Majesty will be pleased to consider what is best to decree in regard to this for the future, as I am applying the most gentle and expedient means and correctives for the present

In a royal decree issued in 1622 the king orders reforms, and defines the proper jurisdiction of the religious orders

I have been informed that the religious of your order are living with great lack of restraint, and are meddling in the government of those islands, from which have resulted and are resulting very great difficulties² Moreover, the honor and procedure of those who have been men of those islands have suffered, for, both in the pulpit and in other ways, the religious are trying to sully the reputation of those persons when they are not acceptable to them Now inasmuch as that is unworthy of any person whatever, and more so of religious who have to furnish an example to all by their retirement from the world and their method of procedure, and inasmuch as it is very advisable to reform that efficaciously therefore after examination of the matter by my Council of the Indies, it has been deemed best to charge and order you, as I do, to summon immediately all the religious of your order By the best method that you shall deem advisable you shall censure them for their irregularities, and represent these to them, and warn them to engage only in their devotions and the conversion of souls according to their obligations — which is the main purpose for which they went there —

¹ Blair and Robertson *The Philippine Islands 1493-1898* Vol XX, pp 152-153 The Arthur H. Clark Company Publishers

² *Ibid* Vol XX pp 249-250

and that they shall not meddle in government matters, or in any other matter that does not concern their order. You shall advise me of what you shall do in this matter.

So great was the power of the missionaries that, as we learn from a royal order of November, 1624 "they do not allow even the women to wear shoes, while they force the men of the province of Nueva Segovia to guard the church in rotation and turn."¹ And if the people failed to answer their questions with regard to the Christian doctrine "the religious have the chiefs and their wives whipped and cut off their hair."¹

Conflicts of the second quarter of the seventeenth century
In letters from another governor to the king during the early part of the second quarter of the seventeenth century we find the same general complaint against the friars' interference with provincial officials. One such letter recommends granting to the governor the 'authority to remove or promote religious missionaries to the natives from the districts where they are.'² The following is also a vivid picture of the conflict in the provinces:

That has come to such a pass that they have lost respect, by their deeds for the *alcaldes mayor* and the said religious do not pay any attention to their jurisdiction or to the royal patronage.² The Augustinians, who are more exorbitant than others are very owners of the wills of the Indians, and give out that the quiet or disobedience of the latter hinges on them. For when the *alcalde mayor* of Balayan tried to restrain the excesses that he saw, they entered his house armed and bound and flogged him, that was during the government of the Audiencia. But lately another *alcalde mayor* in Bulacan having arrested two Indians seamen on a ship of your Majesty's fleet, so that they might serve at their posts the religious at that place took them out of prison. Even more oppressive acts occur daily, which need a severe remedy. I petition your Majesty

¹ Blair and Robertson *The Philippine Islands 1493-1898*, Vol. XXI pp. 105-106. The Arthur H. Clark Company Publishers.

² *Ibid.* Vol. XXII pp. 72-73.

to have sent to me the decree which was sent to Nueva España this past year, with more definite restrictions, so that they may not have any ground for opposing it, and so that their generals, especially he of St Augustine may order them to restrain themselves, and so that his Holiness may do the same, the briefs or patents being passed by the Council and everything being sent to me. So great haste is necessary in order not to fall out with them.

As was usual in such cases, the home government tried to remedy the evil by a royal decree issued for that purpose to the new governor, Juan Nino de Tavora, in 1626¹. During the term of Governor Nino de Tavora as appears in another royal decree, when the alcalde mayor of Batangas arrested a man who

had run away with the wife of a certain man. Fray Antonio Muxica, prior of the said order [Augustinian] at the head of his fiscal and choristers broke open the gates of the prison, and loosed the prisoners after maltreating the government agents². And although he [the alcalde] drew up a report about this action, and informed their superior of it — sending the latter a copy of the report, while he kept the original, in order to give you an account of it — the superior did not inflict punishment but on the contrary exerted himself to get hold of the original report. But as he did not succeed in this, two religious, accompanied by over one hundred natives went to Caravajal's house [the alcalde] surrounded it, went upstairs where he was and took away the said [original] report from him after having bound him and maltreated him by word and deed. Although he informed you of it, that crime has not yet been punished.

This decree, issued by the king was directed to the governor of the Philippines, ordering him to enact justice.

Conflicts in the middle of the seventeenth century. Toward the middle of the seventeenth century the outstanding incident illustrating the conflict between church and state was

¹ See Blair and Robertson *The Philippine Islands 1493-1898* Vol. XXII pp. 112-113. The Arthur H. Clark Company, Publishers.

² *Ibid.* Vol. XXII pp. 160-161.

the imprisonment of Archbishop Hernando Guerrero at Fort Santiago by order of Governor Sebastian Hurtado de Corcuera and the subsequent imprisonment of the governor by order of his successor as a result of charges brought by the archbishop against him when his term expired in 1644 (A governor had to face the *residencia* or trial of an official on leaving office for any act complained of during his term) This incident was the result of a conflict concerning the jurisdiction over a soldier Francisco Nava who had killed a girl and then tried to protect himself from justice by seeking shelter in the Augustinian church Against the will of the archbishop Corcuera had Nava arrested by force and executed For this act Corcuera had to suffer five years imprisonment in Fort Santiago and Cavite¹ This was the fate that befell the victorious campaigner against the Moros whose triumphal entry into Manila was one of the great social events of those days, this was his reward for 'subduing the religious to the understanding that your Majesty alone is their natural seignior, and the seignior of the said island,' as he wrote the king

Still another incident showing the same conflict was the arrest of Governor Diego de Salcedo (1663-1668) by the commissary of the Inquisition aided by the political enemies of the governor He had quarrels with the archbishop, Miguel Poblete, and when the latter died he would not allow the church bells to be tolled or the body to be embalmed This was the apparent reason for his arrest, although political motives were the real ones From a contemporary document we read

It is not a rash assumption by those who are more inclined to reflect that this affair was thus hurried through more through passion than through virtuous zeal those whom the father commissary carried with him were nearly all enemies of Don Diego²

¹ See Blair and Robertson *The Philippine Islands 1493-1898* Vol XXV pp 151-200 The Arthur H. Clark Company Publishers

² *Ibid* Vol XXXVII pp 26-27

And we learn in addition

that the father commissary was at outs with his Lordship [the governor] on account of disputes between them during the voyage¹ Moreover, the father commissary was poor and his provincial

had not provided him with any post as prior in his order, and had not treated the commissary as the latter wished Then too, the governor had given no office to Captain Don Gonzalo Samaniego, the commissary's nephew — whom his uncle the commissary so valued, and so endeavored to provide for, and, although the nephew was appointed a captain in this royal camp he was not captain of any company on account of the scarcity of men

The document shows that political or personal motives governed every one of those who helped the commissary of the Inquisition Governor Salcedo was shipped as a prisoner to Mexico, but was exonerated there He died while on the way back to the Philippines

Conflicts of the last quarter of the seventeenth century The most notable episode in this controversy during the seventeenth century was the conflict between Archbishop Felipe Pardo and Governor Juan de Vargas (1678-1684) on the question of jurisdiction As summarized by Blair and Robertson, that controversy began in 1680,

with the complaint of the cura of Vigan against the acting head of the diocese of Nueva Segovia that the latter does not reside at the seat of that bishopric, and interferes with the above cura² The Audiencia undertakes to settle the affair, and the archbishop insists that it belongs to his jurisdiction The Audiencia endeavors to restrain Pardo but in vain, and the strained relations between them quickly grow into open hostilities

The situation is complicated by various antagonistic elements which may be briefly summarized thus The archbishop's arbitrary conduct toward his own clerics and other persons and his strenuous insistence on his ecclesiastical prerogatives the undue influence

¹ Blair and Robertson *The Philippine Islands 1493-1898* Vol. LXXVII pp. 26-27 The Arthur H. Clark Company Publishers

² *Ibid.* Vol. XXXIX pp. 12-13

over him obtained by his Dominican brethren, the jealousies between the various religious orders, and, still more fundamental, the unceasing conflict between ecclesiastical and secular authority — the latter embodied mainly in the Audiencia, as the governors often ranged themselves against that tribunal, under the pressure of ecclesiastical influence. To these may be added the remoteness of the colony from Spain, and its smallness, which renders the limits within which these human forces are at work more narrow and circumscribed, and therefore intensifies their action.

After a long conflict between Pardo and the Audiencia, in which their weapons are used freely on both sides — decrees, appeals, protests, censures, and legal technicalities of every sort civil and canonical — that tribunal decides (October 1, 1682) to banish the archbishop, a sentence which is not executed until May 1, 1683. He is then seized by the officials of the Audiencia, and deported to Lingayen. His assistant bishop, Barrientos, demands the right to act in Pardo's place, but his claim is set aside in favor of the cathedral chapter, or cabildo — which declares the see vacant in consequence of Pardo's exile. Another Dominican, Francisco Villalba, is banished to Nueva Espana for seditious preaching, and others are sent to Cagayán.

The coming of a new governor, Gabriel de Curuzelaegui (1684-1689), who was favorable to the archbishop, marked a turn in the tide of events, and Pardo was restored.

Soon he lays an iron hand on all persons who had formerly opposed him.¹ Excommunications are imposed on ex-governor Vargas, the auditors, and other persons concerned in the archbishop's banishment, and the members of the cathedral chapter are suspended, and their official acts during his absence are annulled. They are not absolved until near the end of Lent (1685), and this is done in public, and very harshly, with great humiliation to the penitents. At the urgent remonstrances and entreaties of Curuzelaegui, Pardo finally consents to absolve the ex-governor, Vargas, but he loads *this concession* with conditions so grievous and humiliating that Vargas is unwilling to accept them.

¹ Blair and Robertson *The Philippine Islands 1493-1898*, Vol. XXXIX p. 14. The Arthur H. Clark Company, Publishers.

The penance imposed was as follows

During an entire month, he must be present in the cathedral, from morning until high mass, clothed in sackcloth and in the garb of a penitent, with a halter round his neck, and for another month he must, in the same manner, attend the church of Santo Domingo, another, the hospital of San Gabriel, and another, the church of Binondoc¹

Pardo mitigated this sentence, and Vargas was sent to live on an island in the Pasig River. In 1689 while on his way to Mexico, a prisoner, he died

Eighteenth-century conflicts. During the first quarter of the next century the internal conflict in Spanish Philippine government found its culmination in the murder of Governor Fernando Manuel de Bustillo Bustamante (1717-1719), who had undertaken to collect by force the large amounts due to the treasury from its debtors. He succeeded, but aroused the hatred of many leading citizens, including the archbishop. As a result of the arrest of the auditors ordered by Bustamante, the Audiencia was broken up, in attempting to organize an other Audiencia with his own men, he met with the strong opposition of Archbishop Francisco de la Cuesta and the university professors of law. There was a conspiracy against Bustamante, and he ordered the arrest of many citizens. One of these took refuge in a church, and the archbishop would not give him up. The governor had the archbishop and most of the prominent ecclesiastics arrested. Then a tumult arose

The friars sally out from their convents and are joined by the numerous persons who in fear of the governor's tyrannical acts, have taken refuge in the churches, and by a crowd of the common people². All this throng go to the governor's palace and attack him, he is terribly wounded and dies after a few hours and his son

¹ Blair and Robertson *The Philippine Islands 1493-1898* Vol XXXIX p 219 The Arthur H. Clark Company Publishers

² *Ibid* Vol XLIV p 16

also is slain. At the urgent demand of all, Archbishop Cuesta accepts the post of governor *ad interim*, and forms an audiencia with the released auditors¹

The conflict dragged on, and toward the end of the eighteenth century we find in a memorial submitted by the patriotic Governor Simon de Anda y Salazar, the defender of the Philippines against the British invasion, that the power of the church had been enhanced rather than diminished. Anda says

Since the discovery of the two Americas the king has been seignior of them in temporal matters and in spiritual, royal patron and pope, and as such has made appointments to all the secular and ecclesiastical employments of the cathedrals, with the advice of the auditors, and the curacies are filled by the vice-patrons, with preceding examination and proposal by the ordinary²

But in the Philippines the king is despoiled of this well known right

It causes horror to see a religious, paid and maintained by his Majesty, with the character of apostolic missionary, no sooner arrived at Manila from these kingdoms than he immediately publishes and defends the assertion that the king is not master of the islands, but only they who have conquered them, that the Indian ought not to pay tribute,²

The power and influence enjoyed by the religious orders has been described by Le Gentil, the French scientist, as absolute. He says

If the governor of the Philippines is absolute, the religious orders form there a body that is not less powerful³. Masters of the provinces, they govern there, one might say, as sovereigns, they are so absolute that no Spaniard dares go to establish himself there. If he tried to do so, he would succeed only after having surmounted great difficulties, and removed the greatest obstacles. But he would always be at sword's-point: the friars would play him so many

¹ See Blair and Robertson *The Philippine Islands 1493-1898* Vol XLIV, pp 142-196. The Arthur H. Clark Company, Publishers

² *Ibid* Vol L pp 148-150

³ *Ibid* Vol XXVIII, p 210

tricks, they would seek so many occasions of dispute with him, and they would stir up so many things against him that in the end he would be forced to go away. Thus do those fathers remain masters of the land, and they are more absolute in the Philippines than is the king himself.

Result of Spanish policy Such control by the ecclesiastics was the necessary result of Spanish colonial policy. Bourne says

From the beginning the Spanish establishments in the Philippines were a mission and not in the proper sense of the term a colony.¹ They were founded and administered in the interests of religion rather than of commerce or industry. They were an advanced outpost of Christianity whence the missionary forces could be deployed through the great empires of China and Japan, and hardly had the natives of the islands begun to yield to the labors of the friars when some of the latter pressed on adventurously into China and found martyrs' deaths in Japan. In examining the political administration of the Philippines then, we must be prepared to find it a sort of outer garment under which the living body is ecclesiastical. Against this subjection to the influence and interests of the Church energetic governors rebelled and the history of the Spanish domination is checkered with struggles between the civil and religious powers which reproduce on a small scale the mediæval contests of Popes and Emperors.

VI CONFLICTS BETWEEN THE SECULAR AND THE REGULAR CLERGY

General character It is not within the scope of this book to trace the history of the Christian church in the Philippines and the internal dissensions among the various religious orders. However, the question of visitation and secularization of the parishes constituted an important political issue throughout the Spanish regime, and of it we should take brief notice, especially since Filipino priests subsequently became involved in it.

¹ Blair and Robertson *The Philippine Islands 1493-1898* Vol. I pp. 48-49. The Arthur H. Clark Company, Publishers.

Who should have control over the parishes and their curates the archbishop and bishops, or the heads of the religious corporations? Who should fill the parishes the secular clergy or the regular? These were the questions which divided the religious workers from the beginning. The first bishop of the Philippines, Domingo de Salazar, as we have seen, had these questions to settle.

Seventeenth-century conflicts Early in the seventeenth century we find the third archbishop, Miguel de Benavides, objecting to granting the Jesuits license to open a university. He says "This your Majesty should not do unless you grant the same to all the orders and the secular clergy as well."¹ This is especially true now, among these intrusive machinations. Then asking for more powers "If your Majesty were pleased to entrust to me the regulating of these matters I should endeavor to do so."¹

At about the same time the Augustinians sent a complaint to the king because

of the injuries both to the public and to individuals which this commonwealth, and we the religious of the Order of our father St. Augustine, are suffering from the presence of Don Fray Miguel de Venavides, who wishes to assume more authority in the [ecclesiastical] government than is his due.²

The sending of missionaries to other countries caused dissensions between the archbishops and the religious orders of those countries just as it did in Philippine domestic affairs.

In 1622 the fifth archbishop, Miguel García Serrano, wrote to the king that whenever a priest misbehaved,

he is corrected, admonished, and punished — by myself if he is a secular.³ If he is a religious, his superior does it, when he

¹ Blair and Robertson *The Philippine Islands 1493-1898* Vol. XII p. 125
The Arthur H. Clark Company Publishers

² *Ibid.* Vol. XIV, pp. 31-32

³ *Ibid.* Vol. XX pp. 244-245

deems it best; . . . In regard to that, it would be greatly advisable that the bishops of the Philipinas have more power over ministers of souls in their charge, and that the latter be obliged to give account.

In 1632 a letter to the king from the ecclesiastical cabildo of Manila complains that "one of the things which this cathedral has considered, and considers, intolerable, is that it always has



FIG. 42. IRRIGATION DAM

A sample of construction by friars in their haciendas (Courtesy of the Bureau of Public Works)

to be governed by friars."¹ One advantage claimed for the secular clergy is that "he is always in the midst of affairs, while the friar must necessarily incline himself to his order and to those with whom he has been reared."¹ Furthermore, with two universities in Manila training many students, all the graduates could not be employed.

¹ Blair and Robertson, *The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898*, Vol. XXIV, pp 246-247. The Arthur H. Clark Company, Publishers.

Thus this city is today full of poverty stricken seculars, and one must fear that there will be so many within a few years that they will die of hunger, because we have not any benefices to give them in this archbishopric or throughout the islands for these are held by friars, who cost your Majesty so dearly¹

In 1654 the Audiencia tried in vain to enforce visitation of the parishes, for there were only fifty nine secular priests available²

Eighteenth-century conflicts Toward the end of the seventeenth century the ecclesiastical controversy between Archbishop Diego Camacho and the religious orders, which began with the arrival of that prelate in the Islands in 1697, was, according to Blair and Robertson,

hardly second in bitterness and importance to that between his predecessor Pardo with the secular government³ Soon after Camacho's arrival the regulars appeal to him for aid in a dispute which they have with the secular government regarding their lands, but he makes such aid conditional on their submitting to episcopal visitation in those curacies which they serve as parish priests They refuse to do so, and appeal from the archbishop to the papal delegate, then a controversy ensues between the two prelates over the exemptions claimed by the regulars each wielding the thunderbolts of the Church — censures fines, and excommunications — against the other, a warfare imitated by some of the ecclesiastical rank and file with their fists and stones as weapons, all to the scandal of the commonwealth

Although Pope Clement XI decided, on January 30, 1705, that "the right of visiting the parochial regulars belonged to the said archbishop and other bishops"⁴ and although this decision was confirmed by the Council of the Indies in April of the same year, when Camacho tried to enforce it in October,

¹ Blair and Robertson *The Philippine Islands 1493-1898* Vol XXIV, p 247 The Arthur H Clark Company Publishers

² See *ibid* Vol XXXVI pp 155 188 264

³ *Ibid* Vol XLII, pp 9-10

⁴ *Ibid* Vol XXXVI p 155

1707, he met with such strenuous opposition on the part of the religious orders that, after heated controversy, in which the governor intervened, it was decided that there should be no change

Like the conflict between church and state, this controversy between the seculars and the regulars was ever present and manifested itself, from time to time, with more or less violence. During the eighteenth century the most vigorous attempt to secularize the parishes and enforce visitation was that made by Archbishop Basilio Sancho de Santa Justa y Rufina, whose term lasted from 1707 until 1789. He had the support of the civil authority, which had orders to enforce the royal rights of patronage, or appointing power. The archbishop began to appoint secular priests to the vacant curacies, including those of the Parian, Binondo, and Bataan, and as the number of Spanish secular priests was so small, it was necessary to ordain Filipino priests from the seminaries. This step marks an important epoch in the struggle of Filipinos for greater social recognition. It also gave rise to the bitter controversy over the capacity of Filipinos in general, which lasted till the end of Spanish days.¹

The expulsion of the Jesuits in 1767 by a decree of the king created many vacancies in the curacies, and it became more necessary to utilize Filipino priests, to the great alarm and disgust of the religious orders.²

Secularization a political issue During the term of Governor Simon de Anda y Salazar (1770-1776) there was further attempt to secularize the parishes. By a royal decree of November 9, 1774, it was ordered that the curacies held by the regulars should be secularized as fast as they became vacant. Owing to vigorous opposition of the religious orders, however, this was suspended by another royal decree of

¹ See Blair and Robertson *The Philippine Islands 1493-1898* Vol. L pp. 29-32. The Arthur H. Clark Company Publishers.

² See *ibid.* Vol. L pp. 269-317.

December, 1776 While yielding to the urgent demand of the moment the king

directed in the said decree that efforts should be made, by all possible means and methods to form a large body of competent clerics in order that, conformably to the royal decree of June 23 1757 these might be installed in the vacant curacies thus gradually establishing the secularization that had been decreed¹

Thus we see how the king's policy of gradually establishing the secularization that had been decreed was sure to result sooner or later in the training of more Filipino priests and the consequent conflict between them and the religious orders for positions as curates This as we shall discuss later became an important political issue during the nineteenth century, and gave rise to the Filipino national leadership of that period

VII CONFLICTS BETWEEN THE BRITISH AND THE SPANIARDS

What explains the invasion of Manila by the British in 1762? Why did thirteen British vessels anchor in Manila Bay under Admiral Samuel Cornish on September 22 of that year, ready to take the city by force? The British Spanish struggle in the Philippines was but a reflection of the decisive colonial conflicts among the European powers during the latter half of the eighteenth century This is part of the same struggle for supremacy which resulted in the earlier wars among the Portuguese and the Spanish and the Dutch, already discussed It is part of the contest which absorbed England and France in North America and in India In the final test between 1756 and 1763 France called on Spain, and in 1762 war was declared between the British and the Spanish

When the new enemies appeared in Manila, the Spaniards were unprepared Hurriedly organized troops from Bulacan

¹ Blair and Robertson *The Philippine Islands 1493-1898* Vol. L p. 43
The Arthur H. Clark Company Publishers

Pampanga, and Laguna came to defend Manila and on October 3 these attempted in vain to drive out the British troops which had been landed at Malate on September 25 Sir William Draper says in his journal

Had their skill or weapons been equal to their strength and ferocity, it might have cost us dear ¹ Although armed chiefly with bows, arrows, and lances, they advanced up to the very muzzles of our pieces, repeated their assaults, and died like wild beasts, gnawing the bayonets

On October 4 Draper opened fire with his batteries, and to so good purpose that the combined forces under Draper and Cornish were enabled to make the assault on the morning of the sixth, carrying everything before them Then Draper and Cornish immediately went ashore to make arrangements with Acting Governor Manuel Rojo, archbishop of Manila, for the surrender of the fort Manila and Cavite were surrendered, and it was agreed that a payment of ₱4,000,000 should be made to the English for the preservation of the city from pillage ²

In the meantime Simon de Anda y Salazar, an auditor of the Audiencia, who had been appointed lieutenant governor, left Manila on the night of October 3 in order to preserve the loyalty of the Filipinos to Spain He went to Bulacan and, after consultation with the Spanish officials and friars, determined to organize a separate government to uphold Spanish sovereignty and resist the British

Affairs in Europe, however, put a stop to further hostilities in the Philippines In 1763 the Treaty of Paris gave England almost all the French colonies, but the Philippines and Cuba were returned to Spain Thus was Spanish sovereignty providentially preserved in the Philippines

¹ Blair and Robertson *The Philippine Islands 1493-1898* Vol XLIX p 93
The Arthur H. Clark Company Publishers

² See *ibid* Vol XLIX p 14 and *passim*

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QUESTIONS AND TOPICS FOR FURTHER STUDY

- 1 What policy was adopted by Spain to maintain her sovereignty without the use of a large Spanish force?
- 2 In your opinion, why did the Filipino revolts of this period fail?
- 3 Why did the Spaniards abandon Jolo and Zamboanga?
- 4 Give an account of the conflict over Formosa.
- 5 Why were the Spaniards unable to subdue the Moros?
- 6 Why was there conflict between the government and the church during this period? Give specific incidents of this conflict.
7. Why did the friars gain much ascendancy in the government?
- 8 Give a brief summary of the conflict between the secular and the regular clergy.
- 9 How did this conflict affect the Filipino clergy?
- 10 Give an account of the British occupation of Manila.
11. Prepare a paper on one of the topics listed under the references at the end of this chapter.

PART III. PERIOD OF COMMERCIAL LIBERTY AND REFORMS, 1781-1898

CHAPTER XII

THE LAST CENTURY OF THE SPANISH RÉGIME

I. NEW ECONOMIC TENDENCIES TOWARD THE END OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

Direct communication with Spain. Toward the close of the eighteenth century there were events which indicated a growing interest in the economic development of the Philippine Islands and the beginning of a more liberal commercial policy.

The great interest in the Philippines displayed by the British when they took Manila, as well as the patriotic stand of Simón de Anda y Salazar in trying to defend and preserve the Islands for Spain, aroused keener interest on the part of the Spanish king. To bind Philippine and Spanish interests more closely together, direct communication was established between the two countries by means of a warship which was to sail annually from Cadiz via the Cape of Good Hope, loaded with European goods, and to return loaded not only with products of the Philippines but also with Oriental merchandise, including goods from China and Japan, — thereby canceling the ancient prohibition against Spain's trading with the Orient. The innovation, however, was not well received in Manila, for the merchants there refused to send any merchandise on the return trip. Nevertheless the warships continued to make the

voyages until 1783, when ships of the Royal Company of the Philippines began to operate¹

The Economic Society of Friends of the Country The coming of Governor Jose Basco y Vargas (1778-1787) marked a new era in the economic history of the country, for two important events occurred during his term the establishment of the Sociedad Economica de Amigos del Pais in 1781, and the formation of the Real Compania de Filipinas in 1785 These may be considered to be the most serious attempts of Spain throughout her rule to develop the natural resources of the Philippines

Basco's idea was to make the Philippines economically self-sufficing and not dependent on Mexico For this reason he encouraged the development of agriculture by offering prizes to those who should excel in the cultivation of cotton, spices, sugar and silk, to those who should open up the various kinds of mines, to those who should invent useful things, and to those who should excel in the arts and sciences Furthermore he issued circulars and pamphlets explaining the method of cultivating the different Philippine crops In order to get the community's cooperation in carrying out his economic plan, he induced the king to issue a decree establishing the Economic Society, and, in spite of serious opposition on the part of many, it was auspiciously inaugurated in 1782

It seemed, however, as if Basco's ideas were too advanced for his time, for the life of the society steadily declined until 1822 A memoir published by the society, containing a list of its achievements, shows that its activity consisted of discussions of economic subjects, the publication of pamphlets dealing with the cultivation of coffee, sugar, indigo, silk gutta percha, hemp cacao, and other plants, the offering of prizes to persons who succeeded in weaving cloths making dyes inventing hemp stripping machines, and contributing other

¹ See Manuel de Azcárraga y Palmero *La Libertad de Comercio en las Islas Filipinas* pp 117 118 Madrid 1871

useful things to agriculture, and the introduction of agricultural implements of various kinds from the United States. The society lived for over a century, or until 1890.¹

The tobacco monopoly Another means resorted to by Basco to free the Philippines from its financial dependence on Mexico was the establishment of the tobacco monopoly by the government. As early as 1766 Fiscal Viana had recommended the establishment of the tobacco monopoly because he said, "there would be an enormous increase in the royal revenue, since in the form of snuff [*polvos*] it is used by nearly all the Spaniards (both ecclesiastical and secular)," and also by the majority of the people. Montero y Vidal says

Basco's idea was strongly opposed by various interests, but the governor's energy was able to conquer this unjust opposition and the monopoly was organized on March 1, 1782. It constituted the basis of the prosperity of the exchequer in that country, and its most important source of revenue.²

However, the evils attending it were many: the abuses by the government officials in enforcing the regulations and in trying to make profits for themselves, the lack of incentive on the part of the producer to improve the quality of his tobacco, the existence of smuggling and bribery, and the poverty of the farmer—all these accompanied the tobacco monopoly, which lasted till 1882.³

¹ See Blair and Robertson *The Philippine Islands 1493-1898* Vol. LII pp. 307-322. The Arthur H. Clark Company Publishers. See also José Montero y Vidal *Historia General de Filipinas* Vol. II pp. 285-297, 1887. See also Sibaldo de Mas *Informe sobre el estado de las Islas Filipinas en 1842* Part II pp. 28-39 and *Boletín de la Sociedad Económica* for the different years.

² Blair and Robertson *The Philippine Islands 1493-1898* Vol. L p. 109. The Arthur H. Clark Company Publishers.

³ *Ibid.* Vol. L p. 55.

⁴ See Feodor Jagor *Travels in the Philippines* in Craig's *The Former Philippines through Foreign Eyes* chap. xxv and Tomás de Comyn *State of the Philippines in 1810* in the same book. Philippine Education Company, 1916. See also José Jimeno Agius *Memoria sobre el Desestanco del Tabaco en las Islas Filipinas* Manila, 1871.

The Royal Company of the Philippines The second important event during Basco's rule was the establishment of the Real Compania de Filipinas by a royal decree of March 10, 1785. The capital of the company was fixed at ₱8 000 000, divided into 32 000 shares of ₱250 each, the king bought 4000 shares and the citizens of Manila were allowed 3000. The chief object of the company was to establish commercial relations among the different colonies and also between the colonies and Spain to supply Manila with the products of Europe and in return to carry to Spain not only the products of the Philippines but also the merchandise coming from the Oriental countries. The second important object was the encouragement of Philippine agriculture as shown in section 4 of the charter which required the company to invest 4 per cent of its net profits in extractive industries chiefly agriculture. To aid the company all the laws and decrees which prohibited the importation of Oriental cloths into Spain were repealed and the products of the Philippines were exempted from all kinds of duties both in Manila and in Spain. Furthermore, the merchants of Manila were allowed to go to the Asiatic ports for trade and the Chinese who came to Manila were allowed to trade freely without subjecting themselves to any restrictions. The old Manila Acapulco trade was not to be disturbed however, for the company was not allowed to send ships to Acapulco.

Encouragement of production The Royal Company encouraged the production of Philippine crops, instead of merely depending on trade with Oriental countries. Azcarraga describes the attempt of the Royal Company to develop silk culture.

At¹ the time of Basco there were in the province of Camarines four and a half million mulberry trees, and this was one of the results of the industrious administration of that famous governor,

¹ Manuel de Azcárraga y Palmero *La Libertad de Comercio en las Islas Filipinas* p 133 Madrid 1871

and of the first patriotic attempts of the Economic Society, so ably aided by the alcalde mayor, Don Martin Ballesteros, who later became factor of the Company in said province. At the request of the Society the first seeds were sent to Manila in 1780 by an Augustinian by the name of Fray Pedro Galiano, the directors of the Company decided at all cost to stimulate this production, and advanced large sums to bring about its cultivation, . they attempted to introduce Chinese laborers for this purpose, and even proposed to bring over families from Granada, Valencia, and Murcia, well acquainted with this kind of industry, and, according to report of those agents, after that cultivation had been carried on for some years, the first crops gave good results because of the continuous reproduction of the leaves on the mulberry, and they reported that they were proposing to harvest up to nine crops in each year, asserting, too, that according to Chinese experts, the silk of the country was inferior to that of Nanking, but very much superior to that of Canton ¹

The company produced also indigo. The development of that crop before the coming of the Royal Company, as well as the first success of the company in exporting it, is noted by Azcárraga

The cultivation of the indigo had already been encouraged and improved by another Augustinian, Fray Matias Octavio, with the generous aid of a worthy merchant of Manila, Don Diego García Herreros, by applying to this production the method then used in Guatemala, thus it was possible in 1784 to make a shipment, by the warship *Asuncion*, which found a very good market in Cadiz ² With these antecedents, the Company did not have to do much to exploit this source of wealth, and limited itself to making advances to the farmers for the purchase of implements needed and buying everything that was offered for sale, thus in 1786 it was able to export one hundred and forty quintals of this valuable article, and double that in 1788

¹ See Blair and Robertson *The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898* Vol. L pp. 48-50. The Arthur H. Clark Company, Publishers

² Manuel de Azcárraga y Palmero *La Libertad de Comercio en las Islas Filipinas* pp. 133-135. Madrid, 1871

which were produced much more cheaply in Sumatra and Java. Though allowed to invest only 4 per cent of its net profits in agriculture during the first years of its existence it invested great sums in buying land and in making advances to the producers in other words it engaged in much speculation, which proved disastrous. It also gave premature attention to the development of manufacturing.

The principal cause of the failure of the company however, was the fact that it was not given control of the Manila Acapulco trade which continued to absorb the attention of the very men who because of experience in the country, would have helped the company during its formative years.

According to Dr Pardo de Tavera, the Royal Company introduced foreign capital which was essential for economic development.¹

Official encouragement of production The Laws of the Indies contain many provisions urging the officials to encourage production. Governor Sebastian Hurtado de Corcuera's ordinances of 1642 provide that "great care is to be taken to have the Indians plant cocoanut palms and set out abaca plants the chiefs, trees to the number of two hundred and plants to the same number, and timauas, each to the number of one hundred."²

It was also ordered that

Indians both men and women, and the married Christian Sangleys must be made to destroy the locusts that do so great harm to the crops throughout the islands.² Each person shall be charged during certain days or weeks to kill so many gantas of this destructive pest, under penalties that shall be imposed for neglect.

¹ See Manuel de Azcárraga y Palmero *La Libertad de Comercio en las Islas Filipinas* chaps ix x and xi Madrid 1871. See also Simbaldo de Mas *In forme sobre el estado de las Islas Filipinas en 1842* Part II pp 31 35 also José Montero y Vidal *Historia General de Filipinas* Vol II pp 297 307 1887.

² Blair and Robertson *The Philippine Islands 1493-1898* Vol L p 211. The Arthur H. Clark Company Publishers.

These provisions were reenacted by Governor Raon in 1768. One of Raon's ordinances provides thus:

The products best suited for each province are to be especially encouraged.¹ Each Indian shall have at least twelve hens and one cock and one sow for breeding purposes. Factories for the making of textiles and rigging shall be encouraged and increased.

II PERIOD OF COMMERCIAL LIBERTY

Influences leading to opening of ports. What were the conditions which led to the admission of foreign merchants and foreign ships after the cancellation of the Royal Company's charter in 1830? In connection with commerce during the period of restrictions we have seen that the restrictive policy which prevailed in the Philippines for over two centuries was but a reflection of European mercantilism. But with the advance of the eighteenth century there was a revolt throughout Europe against the regulations and restraints which mercantilism imposed upon both industry and trade. A new group of economists headed by Adam Smith, began to recognize that the mutual dependence of nations was a factor in their individual progress and that exclusiveness was inimical to normal national development. In the place of mercantilism there arose the new economic attitude of *laissez faire*, or the doctrine that the individual has a right to full and free range of economic activity and that public regulation should go no further than the simple maintenance of law and order.²

It will be recalled by students of American history that the principal cause of the American Revolution was the restrictive economic policy imposed by England in the form of navigation acts to control the trade of America in favor of English shipping.

¹ Blair and Robertson *The Philippine Islands 1493-1898* Vol. L, p. 251. The Arthur H. Clark Company Publishers.

² From Frederic A. Ogg's *Economic Development of Modern Europe* 1917. Used by permission of The Macmillan Company Publishers.

and manufacturing interests. Both the American revolt against English mercantilism, culminating in the political separation of the two countries and the emancipation of the Spanish colonies in the two Americas following American independence contributed toward liberalizing European colonial trade policies. Spain had to follow the trend of the times. She had to do away with trade exclusivism and lift the bars of isolation, allowing the ships and business of foreign powers to enter.

Admission of foreign firms Even before the coming of Basco there was a tendency toward a more liberal economic policy in the Philippines. The occupation of Manila by the English in 1762 had a good effect, for it acquainted England with the natural resources of the Philippines and the possibilities for material development. Perhaps as a result of the information thus gained, an English commercial house obtained permission to establish itself in Manila in 1809. In 1814, probably owing to the liberalizing influence of the war of independence¹ just closed in Spain, it was stipulated that all colonial ports still restricted should be opened to foreign traffic, and that foreigners should be allowed to enter and engage in commercial activities. Thus was swept away the restrictive colonial policy which had prevailed among the European nations, and which Spain was the very last to abandon. At first, special royal permission was required for the establishment of each foreign house, later on, the permission of the governor general alone sufficed. An earlier edict of the Philippine government, repeated in 1828 and again in 1840, forbade foreigners to sell at retail or to enter the provinces to carry on business of any kind.

In 1842 there were in Manila thirty nine Spanish shipping companies and commercial houses, and about a dozen foreign companies, of which seven or eight were English, two were American, one was French, and another was Danish. Consuls of France, of the United States, of Denmark, of Sweden, and

¹ See section III of this chapter

of Belgium resided there¹ By about 1859, according to Bowring, there were in Manila many foreign commercial establishments, of which seven were English three were American, two were French, two were Swiss, and one was German, but there were no European business houses in the other ports, except Iloilo, where there was an English firm of which the British vice consul was the directing partner²

In spite of the official change of policy, the Spaniards in the Philippines nevertheless persisted in their opposition to the entrance of foreigners This conflict has been described by Dr Pardo de Tavera The first result of the entrance of foreigners, he wrote, was the collision of the new arrivals with the exploiters of the old order,

whose peaceful possession of a livelihood which suited them — because nobody questioned it or disturbed it — was suddenly threatened by the competition of more active, more industrious, better prepared, and richer individuals, supported by firms located in the most important centers of the commercial world³ In the same manner as, by arrival of the Spaniards the old Filipino caciques were subjected to the Spanish officials, now the caciques, who dominated during the period of tutelar sequestration, found themselves immediately supplanted and converted into something lower than the new caciques of the economic order They (the former) understood that such supremacy would give them (the latter) supremacy in everything To defend their position they had recourse to the anti foreign sentiments of the entire community, foreigners had always been regarded as the enemies of Spain and God, they must be the enemies of the Filipinos, too The crusade was not new,

¹ See Manuel de Azcárraga y Palmero *La Libertad de Comercio en las Islas Filipinas* pp 151-152 Madrid 1871 See also Simbaldo de Mas *Informe sobre el estado de las Islas Filipinas en 1847 Comercio exterior* p 7

² See James A LeRoy *The Americans in the Philippines* Vol I p 33 Houghton Mifflin Company 1914 See also Manuel Buzeta and Felipe Bravo *Diccionario Geográfico Estadístico, Histórico de las Islas Filipinas* Madrid 1830-1831 See also Sir John Bowring *A Visit to the Philippine Islands* p 301 London 1839

³ Dr T H Pardo de Tavera 'Results of the Economic Development of the Philippines' in *Revista Económica* 191

it had been used before with excellent results at the time of the English domination. This campaign was hardly started when the cholera for the first time made its appearance in Manila. Taking advantage of that event which was also called providential the rumor was started that the foreigners had poisoned the waters of the Pasig with the result that in 1820 the people of Manila exterminated the foreigners who were then residing at the capital.

Opening of other ports Once Manila was opened the advocates of greater freedom did not rest content for there were great difficulties in connection with the exportation of products from the places far from Manila. The products of the Ilocano provinces of southern Luzon of the Visayas and even of Mindanao all had to be taken to Manila and exported from there. Thus the system entailed unnecessary risks waste of time and extra expense. Accordingly at the request of the government of the Philippines a royal order of September 29 1855 approved the opening of the ports of Sual (Pangasinan), Iloilo and Zamboanga, and later, by a royal decree of July 30 1860 Cebu which up to that time had been obliged to send her products for exportation either to Manila or to Iloilo, was declared an open port.¹

Economic progress Mas has shown how important the Acapulco trade seemed to the people.

The merchants and even all the residents of Manila during the epoch of the Acapulco [trade] firmly believed that the interruption of its voyages would be the infallible and total ruin of the colony and that upon them depended even the maintenance of the inhabitants of the farms.² However experience has demonstrated the error in which they were.

Commenting upon the commerce of the Philippines as shown in the table of exports and imports for the year 1810, Mas adds

¹ See Simbaldo de Mas *Informe sobre el estado de las Islas Filipinas en 1842 Comercio exterior* pp 28 29 al o Manuel de Azcárraga y Palmero *La Libertad de Comercio e i las Islas Filipinas* chap xiii Madrid 1871

² Simbaldo de Mas *Informe sobre el estado de las Islas Filipinas en 1842 Comercio exterior* pp 2 3

that at that epoch the commerce of the Philippines was reduced mostly to receiving funds from New Spain, and in return remitting articles of China and India, that the importation of foreign goods consumed in the Philippines amounted to 900 000 pesos, and the exportation of the products of the country such as sugar, indigo, hides etc., did not amount to 500 000 pesos.¹ The gains therefore from that traffic, for which Manila was only a port of exchange were divided between the merchants who had the monopoly of the galleon but the wealth of the territory received but small advantages from it.

With the opening of the ports, however, the situation was completely changed. As an indication of the greater agricultural and commercial activity, we find that exports increased and that these now consisted of the products of the country instead of manufactured goods brought from elsewhere in the Orient. By 1839 the Philippines exported their own products to the value of P 2,674 220, as against P 500 000 in 1810.²

In 1782 sugar was the only product which was attracting the attention of producers, at the time 30 000 piculs of it had been exported, 146 661 piculs were exported in 1840, in 1854 the amount had increased to 566 371 (almost four times as much as was exported in 1840), and in 1857 the amount reached 714 059 piculs.³

Similarly, the amount of hemp exported to England and the United States increased although it first found its way to the world's market early in the nineteenth century.⁴ The subsequent exportation of hemp is given by Azcárraga as follows:⁵

¹ See Simbaldo de Mas *Informe sobre el estado de las Islas Filipinas en 1837* Comercio exterior pp. 3.

² See *ibid.* p. 4.

³ See Manuel de Azcárraga y Valmero *La Libertad de Comercio en las Islas Filipinas* p. 18 Madrid 1871.

⁴ See Blair and Robertson *The Philippine Islands 1493-1898* Vol. LII p. 317. The Arthur H. Clark Company, Publishers.

⁵ See Manuel de Azcárraga y Valmero *La Libertad de Comercio en las Islas Filipinas* p. 19 Madrid 1871. See also Isidor Jagor *Travels in the Philippines* in Austin Craig's translation of Jagor in his *The Former Philippines through Foreign Eyes* chap. xxiv. Philippine Education Company, 1916.

YEAR	PICULS EXPORTED
1840	83,790
1845	102,490
1850	123,410
1853	221,518
1857	327,574
1858	412,502

Effect of opening the other ports. The same effect that has been observed in connection with the opening of Manila followed the opening of the other ports. The production of the regions round the new ports increased (as shown by export statistics), and commercial activity was stimulated (as shown in the greater movement of ships). For example, in 1857 Sual sent 12 ships across the ocean with rice, and 225 ships to Manila, also loaded with rice, 60 ships went abroad in 1860, and 172 to Manila, loaded mostly with the same cargo. Again, although in the first three or four years there was no marked increase in her exports, by 1859 Iloilo began to show signs of increasing productivity; her total value of exports in 1858 amounted to P82,000, and increased to P1,000,000 in 1863. The following table of sugar exportations from Iloilo, as given by Azcárraga, shows rapid progress in this activity.¹

YEAR	PICULS OF SUGAR EXPORTED	
	TO FOREIGN COUNTRIES	TO MANILA
1859	9 344	77,488
1860	40,176	72,592
1861	44,256	29 312
1862	102,464	98 912
1863	170 832	80,000

Furthermore, the opening of Iloilo encouraged production in the island of Negros. According to Azcárraga,

before¹ the happy event that we are considering, that island was uncultivated, thinly populated, and above all, without any kind

¹ See Manuel de Azcárraga y Palmero, *La Libertad de Comercio en las Islas Filipinas*, pp 167-169. Madrid, 1871

of production to keep commerce alive, besides the Governor, the Alcalde mayor, and the curates sent by the religious orders there were no other Spaniards there, only one European, a French doctor by the name of Gaston had settled there, cultivating sugar cane, and now and then sending some cargoes to Manila

Jagor tells us that in 1857 there was not one iron mill to be found on the island, and that in working with the wooden mills (Fig 43) about 30 per cent of the sap remained in the

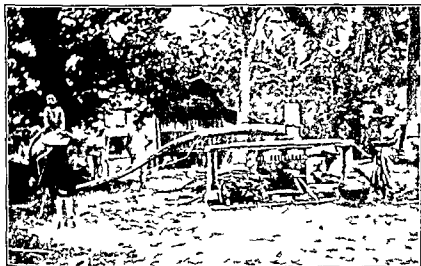


FIG 43 TYPE OF SUGAR MILL USED IN THE EARLY PART OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

cane, even after it had been passed through three times. However, before 1900 the old wooden presses were gradually being supplanted by iron mills (Fig 44) worked by steam or carabao. The natives had no difficulty in obtaining these mills because they could get them on credit from the warehouses of the English importers. Instead of the old Chinese cast iron pans which had been in use, articles far superior were imported from Europe. Many large factories worked by steam power, with all the modern improvements. In agriculture likewise, great progress was noticeable and

improved plows, carts, and good farming implements generally were to be had in plenty¹ Because of the opening of the port of Iloilo the amount of sugar produced for exportation in Negros (Fig 48) increased from four thousand piculs in 1856 to a hundred thousand in 1864, in this year there were twenty five Europeans on the island in the towns of Bacolod,

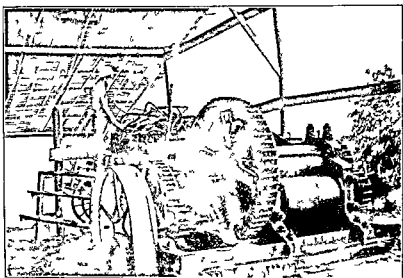


FIG 44 TYPE OF SUGAR MILL INTRODUCED AFTER THE OPENING OF THE PORTS IN THE LATE NINETEENTH CENTURY

Minuluan, and Bago there were seven machines which were run by steam power and forty five which were run by animal power

Similar economic progress characterized the other parts of the Philippines, according to the Census of 1903

From these dates [referring to the opening of the ports] the prosperity of the Philippines advanced steadily and rapidly without interruption until the outbreak of the Philippine revolution six years ago² To this period is due the propagation of the hemp fields of

¹ See Feodor Jagor *Travels in the Philippines* in Craig's *The Former Philippines through Foreign Eyes* chap. XXI Philippine Education Company, 1916

² Census of the Philippine Islands 1903 Vol I p 446

Ambos Camarines, Albay, and Sorsogon, the planting of the innumerable coconut groves, the sugar haciendas of Pampanga and Negros, the tobacco fields of Cagayan and the Iloco provinces, the coffee of Batangas, and the utilization everywhere of the specially adapted soils for the production of these admirable articles of trade. One thing is to be noticed, and is important in estimating the future development of the islands. The money that was invested here was not brought in by capitalists but was made here. Haciendas arose from small beginnings, and this continued prosperity apparently suffered no diminution or check until it was interrupted by the ravages and desolation of warfare.

Says Dr Pardo de Tavera

Freedom of trade brought about the development of agriculture which had already been initiated by the Royal Company.¹ In Ilocos, indigo was made, in Batangas Pampanga Bulacan, Laguna, and the Visayas, sugar cane was cultivated and sugar made, in Albay, abacá was produced.

Foreign competition. After the opening of the ports, a great many people, especially mestizos were forced to abandon their business of trading in goods manufactured in Manila, owing to the competition of the Chinese dealers and engaged instead in the raising of sugar and other products, to the great benefit of the country. "In this manner important plantations have been established in Negros, which are managed by natives of Iloilo"² says Jagor.

As to the effect of the foreign newcomers on the economic progress of the Philippines, LeRoy says

The³ presence of foreign traders, introducing agricultural machinery and advancing money on crops was the chief stimulus to

¹ Dr T H Pardo de Tavera. Results of the Economic Development of the Philippines in *Revista Económica* 1912

² Teodor Jagor. Travels in the Philippines in Craig's *The Former Philippines* chap xxiii. The Philippine Education Company 1916

³ Blair and Robertson. *The Philippine Islands 1493-1898* Vol LII p 113. The Arthur H. Clark Company Publishers

the opening of new areas of cultivation, the betterment of methods of tilling and preparing crops for the market, and the consequent growth of exports, indeed, one may almost say that certain American (United States) and English trading houses nurtured the sugar and hemp crops of the Philippines into existence. And their pioneer work in this respect was done before the opening of the Suez Canal brought the Philippines into vital touch with Europe by means of steam navigation — American influence being then, in fact, already on the wane.

A bank established The growing prosperity of the foreigners was looked upon with jealous eyes by the Spaniards¹. In order



FIG 45 SILVER COINS FROM TWO CENTURIES

The date of the earliest is 1711 the date of the latest is 1868 For reverse side of coins see Fig 51 (Courtesy of Dr Pardo de Tavera)

to foster the growth of Spanish commercial interests, there was created in 1852 the Banco Espanol Filipino, which was to supply more modern credit facilities

than those hitherto available (at ruinous rates of interest) from the old 'pious funds' [*obras pias*] of various sorts, especially since the foreign trading houses were virtually performing the functions of banks in their ways of extending credit to agriculturists, or were being aided by private bankers associated with them².

¹ See Teodor Jagor 'Travels in the Philippines' in Craig's *The Former Philippines Through Foreign Eyes* chap xxiv Philippine Education Company 1916

² Blair and Robertson *The Philippine Islands 1493-1898*, Vol LII, p 117 The Arthur H. Clark Company, Publishers

Better means of communication The greater exploitation of natural resources gave rise also to a demand for better means of transportation and communication (Fig 46)

The needs of commerce demanded not by the poor but by the powerful were attended to, for that reason roads were made bridges were built new highways of communication were opened public safety was organized in a more efficient manner the abuses of the dominators had greater publicity and therefore were fewer and

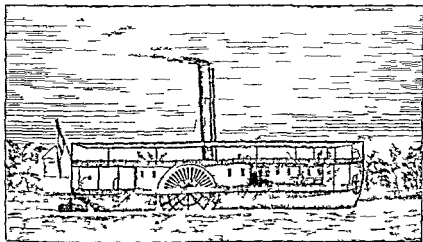


FIG 46 TYPE OF FIRST STEAMER IN THE PHILIPPINES

Courtesy of Dr. Iar lo de Tavera

more combated the mail service was improved Spaniards and other Europeans penetrated into the provinces the natives themselves were permitted to go from one pueblo to another and change their residence and the Filipinos were able to place themselves in contact with the civilized world emerging from their prolonged and harmful sequestration thanks to the workings of economic forces ¹

LeRoy says

It ² was in the decade 1830-40 under Governor General Enrile and the soldier administrator Penaranda his chief assistant that

¹Dr T H Pardo de Tavera Results of the Economic Development of the Philippines in *Revista Eco óm ca* 1912

James A LeRoy *The Americans in the Philippines* Vol I p 10 Houghton Mifflin Company 1914

the Philippines first felt a real stimulus to road- and bridge-building and internal improvements generally, since that time the growth of external commerce, with the resultant better cultivation of some of the provinces, such as Batangas and Pampanga, has led to great improvement in the ways of communication¹ in these places, due both to the civil authorities and to some degree of initiative on the part of the *mestizo* plantation owners

Increase of population. Economic progress also brought in crease of population. According to Buzeta there were in the Philippines during the last years of the eighteenth century 1,522,221 souls and 312,251 tributes. He continues

According to the state of the population published by order of its excellency, the ayuntamiento of Manila, this population was increasing so that in 1808 the number of souls was 1,741,034, in 1812 to 1,933,331, in 1815 to 2,052,992, in 1817 to 2,062,805, in 1818 to 2,106,836². Various data which we have, and for whose exactness we can not vouch, give in 1829, 2,593,287, and in 1833 a population of 3,153,290. The *Guia de Manila* of the year 1840 presents the population as 3,209,077, and, compared with the population that we have seen was reported in 1735, it would appear that the 837,182 souls of the earlier epoch were to those of 1840 as 1 to 3, a proportion which represents a gain of 283 per cent in one hundred and five years. In the five years since, the population of the Philippines had been increasing at the rate of 1.7 per cent per year, so that in 1845 the number of souls was 3,488,258.

¹ The following dates are of interest in the development of Philippine communication

- 1848 first steam war vessels the Philippines bought in London
- 1854 monthly mail between Manila and Hongkong established
- 1873 first telegraph line opened
- 1873 steamship line between Manila and Spain established
- 1890 cable opened between Luzon and Spain
- 1883 plan for railroads in Luzon approved
- 1888 horse drawn street cars inaugurated in Manila
- 1890 telephone system established
- 1891 first operation of Manila-Dagupan railroad

² Census of the Philippine Islands, 1903, Vol. I p. 443

This increase was due almost entirely to the growth of population in Luzon. The Visayas, except Panay, made little gain, lying exposed as they did to the persistent attacks of the Moros. At the beginning of the twentieth century the Visayans far outnumbered any other group.

This ascendancy has been achieved practically within the last seventy five years and since the crushing of southern piracy.¹

The greatest increase seems to have been in the first half of the last [nineteenth] century, when, in about forty five years, the population rose from 1,561,000 to 3,488,000, a rate of 1.8 per cent per annum. This rate will compare favorably with that of almost any of the known rapid increases of population. The phenomenal growth of the people of the United States from 1800 to 1810 which attracted the attention of Malthus, was 3.15 per cent yearly. The yearly rate of increase in Java, which has been regarded as astounding has been for the last century on an average of 2.1 per cent. The increase of population in Japan for the year 1898 was 1.22 per cent.

The conclusion to be derived is that the Christian Philippine population shows a power of multiplying scarcely exceeded by any race of people.

Social effects of economic progress. The increased production, owing to the improved methods of cultivation, had a great effect on the inhabitants of the islands, for not only did it advance the welfare of the people by more adequately satisfying their demand for necessities, but it also raised the standard of living by developing a demand for other materials, which soon became necessities. Referring to the same phenomenon in Iloilo, Mr. Loney, in a report as vice consul of Great Britain, said that the current testimony of all the elder residents in the province was that during the last few years a very marked change had taken place in the dress (Fig. 47) of the inhabitants and the general exterior appearance of the large pueblos owing in great measure to the comparative facility with which the

¹ Census of the Philippine Islands 1903 Vol. I p. 444

people obtained articles which were formerly either not imported or the price of which placed them beyond reach. In the interior of the houses the same change was observable in the furniture and other arrangements and in the evident wish to add ornamental articles to those more necessary for household use.¹ To the same effect was the testimony of Jagor.

A vast improvement is to be observed in the mode of dress common.

Dr Pardo de Tavera commenting upon the increasing ability of the people to secure an education in Manila says

The Filipinos gave a proof of their intelligence and of their aspirations by sending their children to Manila to be educated buying furniture mirrors articles of luxury for their homes and persons buying pianos carriages objects imported from the United States and Europe which came their way owing to foreign trade.² These articles caused a revelation

which produced a revolution in the social mind thanks to that veritable revolution of an economic character which permitted the only possible development — the material development.



FIG. 47. SPANISH LADY DRESSED ACCORDING TO THE FASHION OF 1860.

Courtesy of Dr Pardo de Tavera

¹ See Sir John Bowring *A Visit to the Philippine Islands* p. 410. London 1859.

² Feodor Jagor *Travels in the Philippines in Craig's The Former Philippines through Foreign Eyes* chap. xvii. Philippine Education Company 1916.

The genesis of *filibusterismo* Economic progress, furthermore, paved the way for the development of civic courage, that spirit of personal independence and criticism which characterizes an economically independent middle class. It was that class which, because of greater educational advantages and contact with foreign newcomers and their ideas, as well as enhanced material power, first questioned the abuses of the government and demanded social reforms. On this point the testimony of Dr. Pardo de Tavera, who witnessed the progress we are tracing is especially valuable.

Bigan Tal Balyan Batangas Albay Nueva Caceres, Cebu, Molo Jaro, Iloilo began to be covered with solidly constructed buildings, their wealthy citizens would come to Manila, make purchases, become acquainted with the great merchants, who entertained them as customers whose trade they needed, they visited the Governor General who would receive them according to the position that their money gave them, they came to know the justices of the Supreme Court, the provincials of the religious orders, they brushed up as a result of their contact with the people of the capital and on returning to their pueblo, they took in their hearts and minds the germ of what was subsequently called subversive ideas and later still, 'filibusterismo' ¹

The opening of the Suez Canal brought us nearer to Europe and, carried along by the current of economical nature came the ideas and principles of a political character which did no less than revolutionize the ideas predominant in a country which had existed so completely separated from the nations of the modern world. Already the "brutes loaded with gold" dared to discuss with their curate, complain against the alcalde, defend their homes against the misconduct of the lieutenant or sergeant of the police force, such people were starting to emancipate themselves insensibly as a consequence of their economic independence. Their money permitted them effectively to defend questions involving money first then, those of a moral character. They were becoming actually in

¹ Dr. T. H. Pardo de Tavera. Results of the Economic Development of the Philippines in *Revista Económica* 1912

solent according to the expression of the dominators in reality, they were beginning to learn to defend their rights

Jagor himself who traveled in the Philippines just before 1860 foresaw at that time the social and political changes that came later with commercial liberty and economic progress. He said

The old situation is no longer possible of maintenance with the changed conditions of the present time¹ The colony can no longer be shut off from the outside. Every facility in communication opens a breach in the ancient system and necessarily leads to reforms of a liberal character. The more that foreign capital and foreign ideas penetrate the more they increase prosperity intelligence, and self esteem making the existing evils the more intolerable

Commercial liberty bringing in its wake all the elements that make for economic progress ushered in the reform movement in the Philippines. In the words of LeRoy

Liberalism in Spain had as yet neither the power as a movement nor the ability within its ranks to reconstruct on new and progressive lines this old monarchy's colonial system² Had it been possible to keep the archipelago forever as commercially *incomunicado* as it was up to forty years ago the religious and political disturbances of Spain would not have disrupted the peace of the Philippines so soon seriously to be threatened by a real clamor for modern ideas and modern institutions. The friars and their defenders of to-day who lament the old regime as really the happier should bring the indictment for breaking up their Arcadia not so much against the Liberals of Spain as against all the forces which modern commerce and modern science represent which brought to the islands in so rapid sequence foreigners keen for the development of their idle resources a direct pathway to Europe by the Suez Canal modern steamships ocean cables the telegraph and all the

¹ Feodor Jagor *Travels in the Philippines* in Craig's *The Former Philippines through Foreign Eyes* chap. xxvii Philippine Education Company 1916

² James A. LeRoy *The Americans in the Philippines* Vol. I pp. 31-32 Houghton Mifflin Company 1914

things that in a short span of years were to alter in no inconsiderable degree the life of the people in quite a number of provinces

Another event which kept the Filipinos in contact with the outside world was the French-Spanish campaign in Cochin China, now French Indo China. France took Spain for her ally in order to take advantage of Spanish resources in the

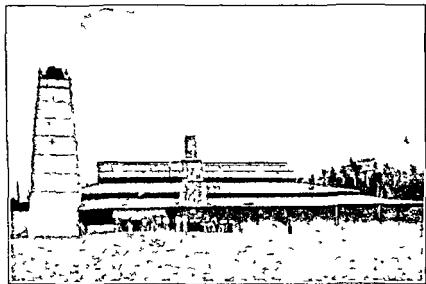


FIG 48 SUGAR MILL IN NEGROS AFTER THE OPENING OF THE PORTS
IN THE LATE NINETEENTH CENTURY

Philippines Accordingly a royal decree of 1857 authorized the sending of fifteen hundred men, most of whom were Filipinos, to Cochin China; and the French consul in Manila organized a force of nine hundred Filipinos. These Filipino soldiers made a brilliant record in this war, and subsequently, when peace was declared and France obtained control of those vast Asiatic possessions, many of them remained there ¹

¹ See Conrado Benitez, "Filipinos outside the Philippines," in *La Cultura Filipina* July, 1915

III POLITICAL CONFLICTS DURING THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

Revolts during the first half of the century In 1807 there was a revolt in Ilocos caused by abuses connected with the tobacco and wine monopolies. Several Filipino soldiers from Vigan secured a good many followers among the dissatisfied natives and captured the town of Batac. Further success against the government forces induced them to attack Vigan and later to go down to Manila to drive out the Spaniards, but the aid of loyal Filipinos led to the rebels' defeat at San Ildefonso¹.

In 1811 Ilocos Norte saw a movement headed by one Lungao to oust the friars and found a new religion. But the timely action of the friars and the government suppressed this quasi-religious revolt.

In 1820 there was an *antiforeign* uprising in Manila owing to rumors that the foreigners had poisoned the water. This, according to some historians, was one of the means that were used to expel the foreigners who were then coming in increasing numbers.

Spirit of reform in the Western world, and its influence in the Philippines We have already seen how commercial liberty in the Philippines was but a reflection of the decline of mercantilism and the advent of the *laissez faire* policy among the peoples of the Occident. Similarly, the great leaven of political democracy which swept the Western world toward the close of the eighteenth century and at the beginning of the nineteenth century affected Spain and through her, the Philippine Islands.

The spirit of conservatism had been nourished up to this period by an absolute monarchy, a state church and the system of nobility and serfs. But there were many changes tending toward a new attitude of mind.

¹ See Manuel Artigas *Historia de Filipinas* pp. 286-290, 1916.

The world itself was changing¹ Commerce was carrying the people of Europe to the four corners of the earth, where they observed strange manners, customs, and ideas of which they had never dreamed Merchants, anxious to increase their trade, did not often take the trouble to inquire whether their customers were Christians or Turks The unity of the Catholic Church had been broken by the Protestant revolt The authority of the Anglican Church was challenged by the Dissenters [in England] The United States, the refuge of many sects, was in ferment with ideas of religious toleration and democratic government

New ideas of government also took hold of people's minds In England, the mother of constitutional government, Locke, in his *Treatise on Civil Government* (1689), propounded the opinion that the authority of the state rested primarily on the consent of the governed According to him, man is by nature endowed with certain rights the right to live, the right to work, the right to enjoy in peace the fruits of his labor

Conceiving that, by the establishment of some organization which would provide for this defence, man would have more time to devote to the useful tasks of production, he promised to obey the government established as long as this government in return protected his inherent rights, but no longer² Man in society does not surrender any of his inherent rights, but confers on the government the sanction of authority similar to that which he had availed himself of in protecting his own rights This authority is expressed in the constitution which is the source of the legality of government When the constitution is violated, men have the fundamental right to overthrow a government which purports to continue without their sanction, and establish a new government conforming to their needs

In France, Montesquieu eulogized with enthusiasm, in his *Spirit of Laws*, the limited monarchy of England Jean Jacques

¹ Robinson and Beard *History of Europe Our Own Times* p 71 Ginn and Company, 1921

² From William Kay Wallace's *The Trend of History* 1922 Used by permission of The Macmillan Company Publishers

Rousseau was also instrumental in creating the spirit of discontent with the existing order. In his *Social Contract* he asked by what right one man ruled over others, saying that the will of the people is what renders government legitimate.

Rousseau's theory was the underlying political principle of both the American Declaration of Independence and the French Declaration of the Rights of Man — two important documents in the history of man's struggle to attain political democracy.¹

Political troubles in the Philippines. The liberalizing influences of the French Revolution were spread throughout Europe by the conquests of Napoleon Bonaparte. But in Spain the English and Spaniards together repelled the French invasion. In 1812 the Spanish Cortes set up a constitutional government, which was rejected by the forces of conservatism under Ferdinand VII in 1814.

The promulgation of the new Spanish constitution in the Philippines, endowing the people here with the same rights as those in Spain, gave rise to disorders. The people of Ilocos, especially, thought that the end of tributes and forced services had come, and refused to submit to the old system of exploitation. Force was used to suppress this uprising.²

Again in 1823 the filling of important military positions with Spaniards from Spain caused deep resentment among the Latin Americans and Spanish Filipinos who had up to that time occupied these posts. Under the command of Captain Andrés Novales there were as many as eight hundred among those who revolted, and it was only after several hours of fighting that Manila was saved.³

A religious uprising. In 1841 Apolinario de la Cruz of Lucban, Tayabas, was attacked by the government troops because he had organized a confraternity, or brotherhood, which had

¹ Read the American Declaration of Independence to discover the principle here discussed.

² See Manuel Artigas, *Historia de Filipinas*, pp. 306-309. 1916..

³ See *ibid.* pp. 337-340. 1916.

gained many followers in Tayabas, Laguna, and Batangas. His purpose was to encourage religious worship. He had asked both the ecclesiastical authorities and the civil authorities for permission to hold services, and on being denied such permission he and his followers held their religious meetings secretly. Upon their refusal to disperse, they were attacked by the government troops and in self defense they were obliged to fight.

This incident indicates a short sighted policy on the part of the authorities.

The fact that Apolinario attempted to legalize the existence of the organization through both ecclesiastical and government centers, which was refused in both instances, indicates that the insurrection was forced by the Spaniards through either fear or contempt.¹

This revolt was used as an argument against the granting of more parishes to Filipino priests, on the ground that religion was the only bond of union between Spain and the Philippines and that therefore the strategic political position occupied by the Spanish friar should never be ceded to the Filipino secular priests. Speaking of the danger of giving Filipino priests more parishes, Mas says

And this idea, namely, that because they are Filipinos, they cannot have any influence has been destroyed by merely the recent insurrection in Tayabas where a lay brother a young fellow, without any personal or antecedent quality that could make him respected was able by means of a religious matter — without the printed copies of the admonition of the archbishop of Manila or the Spanish friars of the neighboring territory being able to prevent it — to cause a settlement to mutiny and to arm a crowd of three or four thousand men even to the point of firing upon their own pastors, who only saved themselves by means of flight, to kill the governor of the province, and attack the national troops.²

¹ Blair and Robertson *The Philippine Islands 1493-1898* Vol LII p 93 n. The Arthur H. Clark Company Publishers

² *Ibid* Vol LII p 47

It was not until after 1863 that the campaign of depreciation of the native became so bitter, was so openly conducted before his face and so absolutely regardless of truth or of charity and reckless of consequences¹ Such incidents as the reciting by a Philippine official distinguished for his defense of the friars, at public literary exercises of the University of St. Thomas, of verses representing the natives, two thousand of whom were there as students, as mere animals, building their homes like the birds of the air and living like the lowest beasts became more and more common. The Dominican newspaper of Manila not infrequently refers to the people as *chongos* (Philippine colloquial for "monkeys") If there is a spark of spirit or of independence in a people at all they will rise against that sort of treatment, even when the masters who so depreciate them govern them with absolute justice.

Effect of the Spanish revolution The triumph of liberalism in Spain resulted in 1868 in the deposition of Queen Isabella II and the founding of the Republic of Spain. A liberal governor, Carlos Maria de la Torre (1869-1871), was sent to the Philippines, and the Filipino leaders of reform were encouraged by his liberal ideas and his democratic ways. In July, 1869 there was a great demonstration at Plaza Santa Potenciana in Manila, headed by the Filipino leaders, for the purpose of expressing the country's satisfaction with the liberal policy of the governor general. The governor gave a reception to commemorate the Spanish revolution, and to it leading Filipinos went to rejoice with Spain's highest representatives over the triumph of liberalism.

Nevertheless the forces of conservatism prepared in secret to give the death blow to all reforms and reformers. The demand for political reforms it was charged was a treasonable movement against the home government, with the idea of separating the Philippines from Spain, and treason was punishable by death. When the liberal Governor Torre passed

¹ James A. LeRoy *The Americans in the Philippines* Vol. I, pp. 62-63
Houghton Mifflin Company 1914

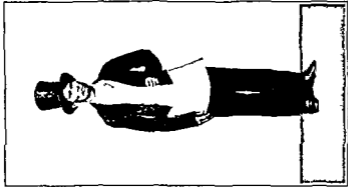
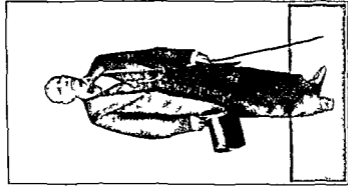
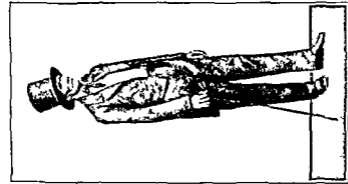


FIG 49 LOCAL OFFICIALS IN SPANISH PHILIPPINE GOVERNMENT 1860

Courtesy of Dr Pardo de Tavera

off the political stage of the Philippines, he was succeeded by Governor Rafael de Izquierdo (1871-1873), a reactionary sent by the monarchical government of Spain, which had been restored in 1870. Then, in the Cavite revolt of 1872, came the chance to get rid of Filipino reformers.

First victims of the reaction The Cavite revolt of 1872 has been considered by some writers as a widespread armed movement against Spanish sovereignty. Only by such a theory (alleging that the leaders were traitors to Spain) can the subsequent conduct of the government in executing or banishing the Filipino leaders of that period be justified. However, the Cavite revolt in itself did not have that political significance. It was merely the uprising of the laborers at the Cavite arsenal — veteran soldiers, most of them, who felt aggrieved because, in spite of their long service, they were required to pay the tributes. January 20 was pay day at the arsenal, and when the workers saw their wages reduced by the amount of the tributes, they revolted. The mutiny spread to the fort of San Felipe at Cavite, and there received sympathetic response among the soldiers under the leadership of a Filipino sergeant, La Madrid. Two days afterward the rebels were defeated, and La Madrid himself was killed.

At the trial held later it was alleged that the fireworks at the fiesta of Sampaloc were the signal that Manila had begun the revolt. As a matter of fact, however, there was no such understanding between Manila and Cavite, it was a mere coincidence that the fiesta of Sampaloc and the Cavite revolt occurred on the same night.¹

While the revolt itself proved insignificant, the arrest and execution of leading Filipinos were of the utmost political importance. Among those arrested were the priests Jose Burgos, Feliciano Gómez, Jacinto Zamora, Mariano Gómez, Justo Guason, Agustín Mendoza, José Guevara, Miguel de Lasa, Toribio del Pilar y Vicente del Rosario, the lawyers Joaquín

¹ See Manuel Artigas *Los Sucesos de 1872* 1911

Pardo de Tavera, Antonio María Regidor, Bartolomé Serra, Gervasio Sánchez, and Pedro Carrillo, and other prominent Filipinos, such as Enrique Paraíso, José María Basa, Pío María Basa, Máximo Inocencio, Crisanto de los Reyes, and Vicente Zabala. Many others were suspected, and their correspondence was intercepted, among these were José Bonifacio Roxas, Tomás Fuentes, Manuel Genato, Angel Garchitorena, Roque Monroy Ambrosio Bautista, José Jugo Ignacio Rocha, Luis Perez de Tagle, Jose Vazquez. The houses of the educated Filipinos — or progressives, as they were then called — were thoroughly searched.

After going through the form of a trial, in which the accused persons were not given a fair chance to defend themselves, three priests — José Burgos, Mariano Gómez, and Jacinto Zamora — were sentenced to death, and with them was sentenced also Francisco Saldua. Máximo Inocencio, Enrique Paraíso, and Crisanto de los Reyes were sentenced to ten years' imprisonment. Others also were condemned to death, but later some of the sentences were commuted to life imprisonment.¹ The following were deported to the Marianas: Agustín Mendoza, parish priest of Santa Cruz, Manila, José Guevara, parish priest of Quiapo, Miguel de Lasa, chaplain at the cathedral, Mariano Sevilla, chaplain of the military hospital, Justo Guason, coadjutor at the cathedral, the priests Anacelto Desiderio, Vicente del Rosario, and Pedro Dandan, the lawyers Antonio María Regidor, Joaquín Pardo de Tavera, Mauricio de León, Enrique Basa, Pedro Carrillo, and Gervasio Sanchez, and the business men Balbin, or Mauricio, José Basa, Pío Basa, Maximo Paterno, and Ramon Maurente.²

Effects of the Cavite mutiny It is interesting to notice that, from LeRoy's point of view, the mutiny in Cavite need never have reached the proportions it did. He says

¹ See Blair and Robertson *The Philippine Islands 1493-1898* Vol. LII, p. 127. The Arthur H. Clark Company Publishers.

² See Manuel Artigas *Los Sucesos de 1872* 1911.

The reactionary party had partially regained the upper hand when the mutiny occurred in Cavite in 1872¹. Instead of treating it as its comparative insignificance demanded, and as prudent state craft would have counseled, they employed it as an excuse for vengeful violence as a means for resuming full control of Philippine policy, and continued for twenty five years thereafter to point to it as their most useful horrible example as an evidence of what must follow the inauguration even in the slightest degree of a liberal policy in

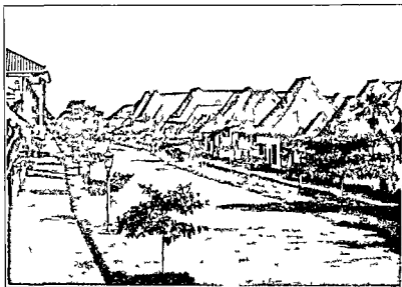


FIG 50 CALLE ALUI, SAMPALOC 1870

Courtesy of Dr Pardo de Tavera

the government of the islands. Rightly or wrongly, the people of that and the succeeding generation in the Tagalog provinces, and to a less degree in the others, were schooled in racial resentment through the belief that the native priests had been done to death, upon a pretext of manufacture¹ vice, by the malevolence of the friars. The proscription of these² of the then small Liberal element among the³ of no less importance
 Fonbio del 1 1,

This mutiny greatly stimulated the rising tide of Filipino nationalism, and encouraged Filipino reform propaganda both at home and abroad. For the succeeding years deportations were more or less frequent, depending upon whether the administration at Manila was representative of Clerical Conservatives or of Liberals in Spain. Says a thorough student of Philippine history

The friars, who were becoming all the time more and more anxious to repress all the new tendencies of the Philippine times and more and more rabid against the natives, played no small part in urging forward this policy of deporting every man who became too independent, or, as they called it, too anti Spanish, in his local community.¹ Eventually, no doubt they got credit for more deportations than were really inspired by them. Nevertheless, they cannot complain that their reputation in this respect was not fairly earned. Their recommendations were quite commonly final in all local affairs, and in most of these cases if they did not actually set the machinery of denunciation going for the removal of a troublesome man, a word from them would at least have left him in peaceful possession of his property and the enjoyment of his family and home. The whole policy of deportations was at least of questionable value. But, if indorsed as a policy, the way in which it came to be carried out made it not only ineffectual as a means for the repression of plotting but a very potent instrument for widening the breach between Spaniards and Filipinos.

Reform propaganda abroad. The Filipino political exiles gradually found their way to Hongkong and Singapore in the Orient, and later to Japan, but especially to Paris, London, and in time, Madrid itself, and the more progressive and well to do Filipinos began to send their sons to Madrid and Paris. So in these cities and later in Japan little Filipino colonies became centers of discussion of political reforms. By means of letters, publications in the *Liberal periodicals in Spain, and later*

¹ James A. LeRoy *The Americans in the Philippines* Vol I p 64 Houghton Mifflin Company 1914

through their own books and periodicals these Filipinos greatly stirred public opinion in the Philippines. The leaders of reform propaganda abroad represented not only the more discontented regions round Manila but the whole of the Philippine Islands. Prominent among them were Marcelo H. del Pilar from Bulacan, Jose Rizal from Laguna, Antonio Luna and Juan Luna from the Ilocos and Graciano Lopez Jaena from the Visayas.

La Solidaridad. In 1888 at Barcelona Graciano Lopez Jaena started *La Solidaridad* a fortnightly journal which he had in charge till October 1889 when Del Pilar took it over transferring it to Madrid where he edited it till 1895. This fortnightly containing the views of the propagandists circulated throughout the Philippines in spite of strict censorship. It opposed another periodical *La Politica de Espana en Filipinas* exponent of the antiliberals and those in favor of the friars.

Marcelo H. del Pilar (known by the pseudonym Plaridel) was a lawyer who had been much persecuted in Bulacan and had left the Philippines in 1888 to carry on the work of reform in Spain. In addition to the many vigorous articles published in *La Solidaridad* he published separate pamphlets those most deserving mention being *La Soberanía Monacal*, *La Fraileocracia Filipina* and *Los Frailes en Filipinas*.¹

LeRoy who has been regarded as the most distinguished American student of the Philippines says of Del Pilar

Coming straight from the problems of actual life among his people he stated their grievances with more practical reference to direct and immediate remedies and with special reference to the economic status while Rizal as a student in contact with modern European life and thought dreamed of and preached in more general terms but on a far wider scope the social regeneration of his people and the expansion of the political rights.² Del Pilar would

See articles by Epifanio de los Santos in the monthly *Philippine Review* published from 1916 to 1920.

² Blair and Robertson *The Philippine Islands 1493-1898* Vol. LII pp. 177-178. The Arthur H. Clark Company, Publishers.

have made a good representative of his people in the Cortes Del Pilar, disappointed by the failure to achieve greater immediate, practical results by relying upon the progress of Liberalism in Spain, after seven years of propaganda along these lines, was starting for Hongkong or Japan, to conduct there a really revolutionary campaign, when death overtook him shortly before the Tagalog revolt in 1896. He had, apparently, lost faith in the ideals of "assimilation, of Spanish Filipino unity, which he had set forth in glowing phrases in 1888 and 1889. He had also apparently, become convinced that the upper class Filipinos especially the most wealthy and prominent, were too lukewarm or too prone to temporize for safety's sake, that the time had come to make the cause more distinctly one of the people as a whole. He is credited with having suggested and outlined the organization of the Katipunan, and he seems to have concluded that it was time for the Filipinos to resort to Cuba's example and not to political petitions only.

José Rizal José Rizal was the other great leader in the propaganda abroad, and a brilliant one. He also contributed articles to *La Solidaridad*, notably "Filipinas dentro de Cien Años" ("The Philippines a Century Hence"), in which he prophesied the coming predominance of the United States in transpacific affairs and "La Indolencia de los Filipinos" ("The Indolence of the Filipinos"), in which he proved the existence of an active commercial and industrial life in the Philippines when the Spaniards arrived, and the decadence of industries as a result of the Spanish conquest, with its abuses and its contempt for manual and industrial labor. He also published a new edition of *Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas* by Antonio de Morga "who gave a more truly scientific and in many respects more favorable view of the Filipinos at the time of the conquest than the later friar chroniclers." The bitterness with which his work (and even Morga himself) was assailed revealed the political spirit of the times. In *Noli Me Tangere*, first published in Berlin in 1887, when he was but

¹ Blair and Robertson *The Philippine Islands 1493-1898* Vol LII p 181 n
The Arthur H. Clark Company Publishers

twenty six years of age, Rizal tried to picture the "backwardness of the existing social and political régime in the Philippines, its stifling of thought, and its many tyrannies",¹ but he portrayed also his own people's defects. In his second novel, *El Filibusterismo*, first published in 1891 at Ghent, "the more mature reformer preached yet more plainly the necessity of social and political progress beginning from below, and not simply inspired from above."¹

Rizal's contribution What has been Rizal's contribution to the Filipino cause? Let us see what LeRoy has concluded

Rizal was a genius, who with the touch of imagination and satire lifted the cause of the Filipinos to a place in the thought of the world and at the same time, as poet and patriot combined, fired the enthusiasm of his own people and became their idol¹ . . . He was opposed to means of violence, even to the last, and the whole record bears out his protestations on this score, he still looked to the future as a dreamer patriot, but he also looked to the present state of his people and saw that the most vital problem was the teaching them that they must raise themselves by their own efforts, must deserve a better destiny

He believed indeed that there could be no tyrants where there were no slaves

To the charge that Rizal was an abnormal Malay, an accident in the development of human progress, LeRoy answers :

For lack of a real understanding on the part of outsiders, especially Americans, of the events of the Filipino campaign for freedom, and through his own people's tendency to carry hero-worship to the point of religious frenzy, he has been canonized as a sort of Filipino miracle, the one genius the Malay race has produced, he is in many respects their greatest man, but he is really a thoroughly typical product of his times and of his exceptional opportunities²

¹ Blair and Robertson *The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898*, Vol LII, pp 177-179 The Arthur H. Clark Company, Publishers

² James A. LeRoy, *The Americans in the Philippines*, Vol I, p 67 Houghton Mifflin Company, 1914

Sympathizers with the Filipino cause in Spain, Freemasonry The Filipino propagandists abroad were not alone in their efforts They were soon able to gain admission into Freemasonry — some in Paris and London, whereas others, like Rizal Del Pilar, Lopez Jaena Mariano Ponce, and Antonio Luna, were initiated in Spain In this fraternal fellowship with Europeans as well as with prominent Cubans and Porto Ricans Filipinos breathed a freer atmosphere saturated with ideas of individual liberty and the rights of man Under the



FIG 51 REVERSE SIDE OF COINS SHOWN IN FIG 45

Courtesy of Dr Pardo de Tavera

auspices of the Spanish Grand Lodge, at the head of which was Miguel Morayta a professor in the Central University of Madrid, a republican, a liberal, and a great friend of the Filipinos Lopez Jaena organized a lodge called *Revolucion*, among its members were M H Del Pilar, Mariano Ponce, Dr Anston Bautista Dr Galicano Apacible, and Jose Alejandro Teodoro M Kalaw says

The campaign had been started in Madrid¹ Morayta was its principal protector Why not organize a lodge of Filipinos which while taking charge of the main objective as well as uniting the Filipinos in Europe might serve as an instrument of propaganda against oppression in the Philippines? Because of its noble principles Masonry was the institution most called upon to wave the

¹ Teodoro M Kalaw *La Masoneria en Filipinas* pp 21 22 1920

flag of Equality Liberty and Fraternity against that of exploitation and tyranny The Filipino colony in Europe was then composed of the best of our youth and our intellectuality Rizal Del Pilar and Lopez Jaena were three formidable forces about to go into action

Accordingly a lodge called Solidaridad was founded in 1890 in which all the Filipinos were affiliated including those of the lodge *Revolucion*

Antonio Luna who could not continue his trip to the Philippines in order to organize Masonry thereupon moved to Paris where he organized a branch with Dr Pardo de Tavera and Dr Ariston Bautista under the lodge *Solidaridad*¹ This branch worked with great enthusiasm In it were initiated Vergel de Dios Felix Pardo de Tavera Ventura Abarca Juan Luna Osmundo Evangelista and others

From the Spanish and Filipino masons a society known as the Spanish Filipino Association was organized in Madrid in 1888 This association worked for liberal reforms in the Philippines Thus with the unified cooperation of the lodge *Solidaridad* the Spanish Filipino Association and the periodical *La Solidaridad* there was carried on from Madrid a coordinated campaign favoring greater liberties for the Philippines

Effect of the propaganda As to the effect of this campaign on the Philippines Teodoro M Kalaw says

It aroused latent energies² It encouraged fearing hearts It lighted the dark night The Filipino people prostrate in their misfortune under the yoke of tyranny found at last a guide a leadership What they needed was leadership and Masonry furnished that What they needed was an organ to voice their complaints and demands to describe their condition and to assume with courage all responsibility and the periodical *La Solidaridad* was destined to be that organ What they needed was protection from above among the Peninsular (Spanish) elements against persecutions from below

¹ Teodoro M Kalaw *La Masoneria Filipina* p 22 1920

² *Ibid* 1 1 38

and the Spanish Filipino Association and the liberal Spaniards who were cordially in sympathy with Filipino Masons, generously offered themselves for it

Campaign carried to the Philippines But it was not enough to conduct the campaign in Spain. It was necessary to carry the work to the Philippines, and such was the plan of Rizal and Del Pilar. Accordingly, in 1890 Antonio Luna and Pedro Serrano Laktaw were designated to organize Masonry in the Philippines, and in that same year the latter began his work. This met with prompt response on the part of the people so that in less than two years there were many lodges scattered over the archipelago. These became the nuclei of liberal thought and reform. But it should be remembered that Masonry did not resort to arms in order to attain reforms. It was left for another kind of secret society, the Katipunan, to unfurl the flag of armed revolution.

La Liga Filipina In harmony with his aim of conducting a campaign of social regeneration among his own people, Rizal, upon returning to the Philippines the second time, organized La Liga Filipina, an association whose objects were

- 1 To unite the whole archipelago into one compact, vigorous and homogeneous body¹
- 2 Mutual protection in every want and necessity
- 3 Defense against all violence and injustice
- 4 Encouragement of instruction, agriculture, and commerce
- 5 Study and application of reforms

The organization of this association proves that the propagandists did not confine their efforts to Masonry. LeRoy says

Our Spanish sources would have it that the *Liga Filipina* was really separatist in character, and the prosecution deliberately based upon this charge the demand for Rizal's conviction in 1896.² It re

¹ Blair and Robertson *The Philippine Islands 1493-1898* Vol. LII p. 217
The Arthur H. Clark Company, Publishers

² *Ibid.* Vol. LII pp. 183, 184

mains unproved and the statutes of the League as prepared by Rizal entirely support his assertion that the design of the League was to foster cooperation among the Filipinos to raise the arts and sciences and develop Filipino commercial and economic interests generally. In the pledges of its brothers to stand by each other for remedy of abuses as well as for other things the League very plainly looked toward unity of action in matters social and political and no doubt the idea of bringing his people together for such political action as might become possible was foremost in the mind of Rizal and its other organizers. But this does not prove the charge that it merely covered up a plan to get arms and rise in rebellion as soon as possible.

Demands of the campaign On the whole the specific reforms which the propaganda at home and abroad aimed to attain were in truth no other than the legitimate demands of a people growing into social and political maturity and imbibing liberal ideas from the countries of Europe and America. The Filipinos asked that the Philippines be considered as a regular province of Spain with a civil government that her citizens be endowed with the civil rights of Spanish citizens that parliamentary representation in the Spanish Cortes be restored that the friars be sent away or at least that the parishes be secularized and that the bill of rights be adopted including the right of assembly and association freedom of the press and freedom of speech. It was thought that if the people were protected by these constitutional rights the abuses on the part of the civil military and religious authorities would be stopped that the persecution of educated Filipinos would be discontinued and that the deportations would be prevented.¹

Events in the Philippines The terrible events of 1872 kept the forces of reform in the Philippines quiet and in hiding. Only in Europe was the Filipino cause openly defended. But the administrative and legal reforms made under Liberal

¹ See Teodoro M. Kalá y *La Revolución Filipina* 1924. See also Philippine Commission Report 1900 Vol. I.

administrations encouraged the Filipinos to formulate their demands openly and peaceably in accordance with constitutional practices in many countries of Europe, including Spain itself. In 1888 at a public demonstration against the friars, a petition was presented to the governor general asking for the expulsion of the friars and the secularization of the parishes. This was an extreme step but it was the culmination of a series of incidents connected with the struggle of the people against friar rule. Chief among these earlier incidents had been the refusal of the local officials of Bulacan to submit to the friars in matters of local administration, M. H. del Pilar was behind this demonstration of civic courage.¹ Another incident had been the refusal of the Laguna tenants of the Dominicans to pay the increased rents, this controversy had dragged on for several years and created the social and political atmosphere of which Rizal was the product.*

Educational progress Spain's progress in constitutional government resulted in more attention to colonial improvements. This was shown in education as early as 1839 when a royal decree provided for the appointment of a special committee to draft a set of regulations for Philippine schools. This committee was not appointed, however, until 1855, when its members were named by Governor Manuel Crespo. The decree of December 20, 1863, contained the basic legislation on Philippine public school education. Its aims were twofold: first, to establish a public school system in the Philippines by requiring that at least one public school for both boys and girls be established in each town; that attendance be compulsory, that education be free to the poor (in a word, that the Filipinos be given the advantages of Spanish culture, language and religion), and secondly, to give the teaching force a regular course of training in the normal school under the Jesuits. The parish priest was continued as the supervisor of the local

¹ See Epifanio de los Santos, Marcelo H. del Pilar, in *Philippine Review*

² See Manuel Artigas, *Historia de Filipinas*, 1916

schools, and until the end of the Spanish régime it was he who had control of all educational matters

Secondary and higher education remained in the hands of the friars and the Jesuits until 1898

There was progress also in technical education. A military school, as well as a nautical school, trained men for the army, the navy, and the merchant marine. A school of agriculture was provided for in the royal decree of 1887, but was not successfully operated. A school of arts and trades, created in March, 1891, graduated many students, but later failed for lack of official support. A school of painting and sculpture was organized in 1892, to take the place of the former Academy of Drawing. Here Filipinos showed their artistic possibilities.¹

Progress in administration. In the government and in the administration of justice there were important reforms. In 1886 the *alcalde-mayor* ceased to be both the judicial and executive official. Provincial governors exercised the executive functions, and the *alcaldes*, who were required to be lawyers, became the judges of first instance, according to the new judicial system. By another decree of 1887, "and concession to public opinion," justices of the peace were provided for every municipality. These were to be appointed by the governor-general, on the recommendation of the president of the *audiencia* of Manila, such appointments being given only to persons who were lawyers or had some academic or professional title, or to those "whose position and circumstances warranted it." When such persons could not be found the *gobernadorcillos* were to act as justices of the peace.²

The most fundamental reforms in municipal administration were those provided in the Maura law of 1893. The *principales*

¹ See Philippine Commission Report, 1900, Vol I, Part III, and Vol II, Exhibit VI

² See Cayetano S. Arellano and Florentino Torres, "The Judiciary," in *Census of the Philippine Islands, 1903*, Vol I. See also Charles B. Elliot, *The Philippines*, Vol I, chap. viii. The Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1916

(men belonging to the class which held positions as *cabezas de barangay*) were to include also the principal taxpayers. The law extended the powers of the local officials and provided for election by ballot, although the *principalia* were to choose twelve delegates and these, in turn, the five town officers. This law

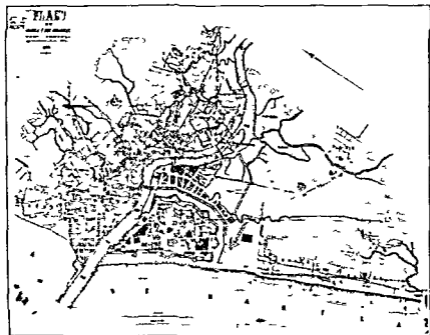


FIG. 52. MAP OF MANILA IN 1875

Courtesy of Dr Pardo de Tavera

... made a sort of municipal council (called the Tribunal) of the five officers, with whom on most important questions the twelve delegates must also sit, while the parish priest retained the right to intervene on all questions and his *visé* was necessary in most matters of importance¹

The new law, however, was not fully carried out, owing to delay in its enforcement and on account of the revolution of 1896.

¹ James A LeRoy, *The Americans in the Philippines*, Vol I, p 43 Houghton Mifflin Company, 1914

Taxation reform In taxation also there were important changes. In 1884 the number of days of service on public works required of each inhabitant was reduced from forty to fifteen and the old tribute was abolished the personal cedula taking its place. In general however the burden of taxation continued to fall heavily on the poor. An examination of the Spanish government expenditures shows also that much was spent for nonproductive purposes such as war the maintenance of the colonial office in Spain excessive and unnecessary salaries of employees pensions and the church and very little devoted to public works and education.¹

New codes of laws Of importance to the administration of the Philippines was the extension to this country of the Spanish penal code in 1887 the commercial codes in 1888 and the civil code and mortgage law in 1889.

The conflicting forces Undoubtedly progress was being made in the administration of the Philippines. But LeRoy asks

How explain then that coincidentally with this faltering progress the Filipinos themselves grew steadily during the last thirty years more restless and assertive?² The story is not told if we pause here and simply bring a general indictment against the Filipinos as acting the part of ingrates toward their benefactors.

The trouble according to LeRoy was that the religious orders in Spain were fighting at every step against every encroachment upon the old regime by the Liberal party of Spain. And in the Philippines the same thing was happening.

In² almost every town of size in those islands there was a friar ready to assert the ancient prerogative of fatherly direction ready to use in the interests of his régime all the manifold rights of intervention in local affairs which the law gave him ready to place the

¹ See Philippine Commission Report 1900 Vol I pp 70-81. See also Charles B. Elliott *The Philippines* Vol I chap x. The Bobbs-Merrill Company 1916.

² James A. LeRoy *The Americans in the Philippines* Vol I pp 56-57. Houghton Mifflin Company 1914.

heavy hand of paternalism upon the head of every parishioner who showed a tendency to think or to do for himself, eager and earnest in his determination to maintain the intellectual status quo. That the friars were honest and sincere in this attitude of horror toward modern progress in general, toward Liberalism, toward scientific education, did not render it any less certain that they were bound eventually to lose in their fight to keep the Filipinos in the Middle Ages. For a whole generation, the catastrophe was preparing; but it was inevitable, from the day when the Philippines were first aroused from their dreams of slumbering isolation.

IV. FINAL ARMED CONFLICT BETWEEN SPANIARDS AND FILIPINOS

Failure of reform propaganda. The reform propaganda abroad and at home made no headway after the deportation of Rizal to Dapitan in 1892. In that same year, hastened by this treatment of Rizal, came the organization of the Katipunan, which rapidly gained ground among the masses. Peaceable means of bringing about reforms proved inadequate because the Spanish government turned a deaf ear to Filipino demands, and the sympathizers of reform propaganda were losing faith in peaceable methods. A general assembly of Filipino propagandists in Hongkong was to be convened in 1896; but the untimely illness of Marcelo H. del Pilar, and his death in July of that year, prevented the carrying-out of the plan. Meanwhile, Andrés Bonifacio gained control of the Katipunan; in 1894 and 1895 the society became more radical as well as more active.

The Katipunan. As to the original aims of this new secret society, LeRoy says:

It is perhaps safe to say that, as originally organized, the Katipunan was to carry on much the same sort of propaganda among the masses as the Liga Filipina had intended to conduct among the more intelligent classes.¹

¹ James A. LeRoy, *The Americans in the Philippines*, Vol. I, p. 83. Houghton Mifflin Company, 1914.

But being imbued with the ideals of the French Revolution, Bonifacio advocated armed revolt

When the Katipuneros received Dr. Rizal's message that the Revolution was ill timed and lacked preparation because the cultured element and plutocracy did not support it, and that without arms ships and the support referred to failure was sure to ensue panic took possession of the Katipuneros and a stampede was imminent, but Bonifacio said "Thunder! wherever did Dr. Rizal read that for a revolution you must first have arms and ships? Where did he read it?"¹

This was said and repeated with such conviction emphasis, and assurance that he dominated the irresolute and made them return to the fold

Beginning of war. The discovery of the revolutionary plan by Father Mariano Gil, Augustinian curate of Tondo, forced the Katipunan to give the first cry of rebellion This was done at the place in Caloocan now marked with the Balintawak monument August 29 was the day designated for the uprising On the following day the first serious encounter between the Spanish and Filipino troops occurred at San Juan del Monte, where stands today a monument to mark that memorable event On the same day Governor General Ramón Blanco (1893-1896) placed the following provinces under martial law Manila, Bulacan, Pampanga, Nueva Ecija, Tarlac, Laguna Cavite, and Batangas Simultaneously, in Cavite, the towns of Kawit, Noveleta, and San Francisco de Malabon revolted

Reign of terror. September saw a veritable reign of terror The government policy was one of extreme rigor and cruelty Arrests and executions were the order of the day in the provinces and this policy drove many Filipinos to the field of battle September saw most of Cavite, Nueva Ecija, and Bulacan up in arms, Laguna and Batangas followed in October

¹Epifanio de los Santos * Andrés Bonifacio in *Philippine Review*, 1918

even distant Camarines sharing in this disturbance, Morong and Mindoro also joined the national movement. In Mindanao, Filipino soldiers mutinied, killing their officers, and the same thing occurred in Jolo. Bataan and Zambales rose, so, also, did Pampanga.

Contrary to the demands of the Spaniards in Manila, Governor General Blanco adopted a policy of conciliation. For this he was soon recalled to Spain, to be succeeded by Camilo de Polavieja (December 13, 1896, to April 15, 1897).¹

Execution of Rizal Governor General Polavieja frankly identified himself with the religious orders. "Spain strangles the apostle of Filipino progress" is the characterization given by LeRoy to the first step taken by Polavieja.

The one step that did more to alienate the Filipinos forever from Spain than perhaps all other circumstances united was to mark the very beginning of Polavieja's command.² José Rizal, who had started for Cuba to serve as a volunteer surgeon in the Spanish army, and who had been returned from Barcelona as a prisoner, upon the urgent representations of the military prosecutors, reached Manila on November 3 [1896], and had remained in prison since. Under Polavieja, a military court was quickly convened on December 26 for the final hearing in the trial of Rizal on charges of 'rebellion, sedition, and illicit associations,' the trial having thus far been conducted in secret, according to Spanish methods. The proceedings of this court, which was in session but a few hours have never been promulgated, with the reasons of its members for the decision reached. The manner of his conviction must be repugnant to the sense of justice of every American, accustomed to public trials, with a procedure open to objection and contest on the part of the accused at every stage. [With his hands manacled Rizal was allowed to speak in his defense.] He pointed out that the letters of his which had been presented were all prior to 1892, that he had planned a colonization of a territory near

¹ See Teodoro M. Kalaw *La Revolución Filipina* 1924

² James A. LeRoy *The Americans in the Philippines* Vol I pp 106-114 Houghton Mifflin Company, 1914

Dapitan by his family and friends, that he might easily have escaped from Dapitan, or later from the steamer at Singapore, when on his way to Spain, cited his efforts to serve as volunteer with the Spanish army in Cuba, and his attempts to employ his influence to prevent, and later to quell the uprising in the Philippines, suggested the unwisdom of applying the same harsh treatment to those who desire to preserve Spanish sovereignty in the islands, though with administrative reforms as to those who are out and out separatists, explicitly denied being guilty of any of the charges against him, or of having conspired against the Spanish Government, but recognized that the verdict was made up, and the die had been cast against him, when he said "A victim is sought, and I am the one who is chosen to receive the whole blame" On the eve of his death, Rizal wrote to his "dearest friend," Ferdinand Blumentritt "I am innocent of the crime of rebellion I am going to die with a tranquil conscience"

Political significance of Rizal's execution The political significance of Rizal's execution is pointed out by LeRoy

This was not the first nor the last of such executions, but it was the beginning of the end of Spanish rule in the islands¹ Rizal represented all the poetry and imagination in the dawning national aspirations of a poetical people of the imaginative Orient He was, besides, chief spokesman of the sterner judgment of the saner element among the people, and, variously as his ideas and aims were distorted among the masses, often to suit the purposes of leaders of a very different type, his name was a fetish among them The shots, which he insisted upon meeting upon his feet, not kneeling, reverberated around the archipelago Spain had almost unified the people against herself, and she would sooner or later have had to reckon with a very different sort of rebellion than the localized affair of 1896

Spread of revolution during 1897. Polavieja's assumption of office was characterized by more executions and arrests, as well

¹ James A. Le Roy *The Americans in the Philippines* Vol I pp 106-114 Houghton Mifflin Company 1914

ing to the cabinet. Pascual Álvarez, Baldomero Aguinaldo, Jacinto Lumbreras, Severno de las Alas, and Mariano Alvarez

Provisional government at Biacnabato. Military strategy induced Aguinaldo to transfer his headquarters to Biacnabato, in Bulacan. Here, in another assembly of all the revolutionary leaders, a provisional constitution for a Philippine republic was

approved on November 1, 1897, and a new cabinet elected. Likewise a central revolutionary junta in Hongkong was organized, with Felipe Agoncillo as president and with Mariano Ponce as secretary.

The Pact of Biacnabato. In the meantime, owing to the illness of Polavieja, General Fernando Primo de Rivera (April 23, 1897, to April 11, 1898) became governor-general. The new executive believed in peaceful methods of terminating the war. After several Spaniards had failed to interest Aguinaldo in discussing peace, Pedro A



FIG 53 EMILIO AGUINALDO
First president of the Philippine
republic

Paterno, who had been making various trips to the revolutionary camp, succeeded, on August 9, 1897, in discussing the first protocol, which provided for

1. Expulsion or, at least, secularization of religious orders.
2. Philippine representation in the Spanish Cortes
3. Equal treatment of Filipinos and Spaniards before the law; uniform laws for Spain and the Philippines; participation of Filipinos in the directorates of civil administration

4. Settlement of properties of the parishes and contributions in favor of Filipinos.

5. Promulgation of the individual rights of Filipinos, the right to form associations, and the liberty of the press

On December 14 the Pact of Biacnabato was agreed upon. Under its terms the revolution was to cease and the leaders



FIG 54 A TOWN IN NUEVA ECIA

A region not populated until the nineteenth century

were to go abroad and reside there, Spain giving them the sum of P800,000, payable as follows. P400,000 upon delivery of all the arms at Biacnabato; P200,000 after arms to the number of eight hundred had been delivered, and the remaining P200,000 after the number of arms delivered had reached one thousand. The money was to be delivered at Hongkong, where Aguinaldo had fixed his residence. By an agreement of December 15, the government was also to give P900,000, payable in three installments, as indemnity to families which had suffered from the war.

The Spanish government allowed certain Spanish officials to be retained as hostages and the revolutionary leaders made the trip to Lingayen enthusiastically acclaimed by the people of the towns through which they passed. From Lingayen they took a boat for Hongkong.

Pact broken How did Governor General Primo de Rivera comply with the pact? A government check for ₱400 000 was given by Paterno to Agumaldo at Hongkong but that is about all that was received by the Filipinos. Some money in cash was distributed in Manila by General Primo de Rivera. The reforms promised however were not forthcoming and revolutionary leaders who returned were imprisoned. As a matter of fact in the opinion of Mabini there was bad faith on both sides. The Spaniards thought that by getting the Filipino leaders out of the country they were ending the revolution, and the Filipinos expected to buy new arms with the money they were receiving.

Renewed fighting Thus under the illusory peace created by the Pact of Biacnabato the end of 1897 saw greater determination on the part of the people to carry on the revolution. In February of the following year 1898 there was an attempt to cut off the railroad at Pampanga. Zambales and Ilocos rose again. There was a conspiracy in Manila. Bulacan followed. Once more towns in Pampanga, Laguna, Pangasinan, Nueva Ecija, Tarlac and Camarines Norte were attacked. A new central revolutionary government under General Makabulos was organized in central Luzon. Even in Cebu there was an uprising in February, 1898.

Such was the general situation in the Philippines when, on April 25, 1898, war was declared on the other side of the world between Spain and the United States.

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QUESTIONS AND TOPICS FOR FURTHER STUDY

- 1 Why was direct communication with Spain established? (Reference No 1)
- 2 What was the economic policy of Governor Basco y Vargas? How did he try to encourage economic production? (References Nos 2, 3, 1, 3)
- 3 Give an account of the aims and life of the Economic Society of Friends of the Country of the Royal Company of the Philippines (References Nos 1 2 3 4 8)
- 4 Give arguments for and against the tobacco monopoly (References Nos 6 7 8)
- 5 Mention several laws and ordinances intended to encourage agricultural production (Reference No 2)
- 6 Spanish laws to encourage production have been criticized as paternalistic. Is paternalism justifiable under certain conditions? Do different peoples vary in their attitude toward government encouragement of industries? If so how?
- 7 Discuss fully the effects of the opening of the ports and the coming of foreign business men (References Nos 1, 9, 12, 13, 14)
- 8 Why is this period of commercial liberty a most important one in Filipino development? (References Nos 1, 12)
- 9 What political reforms were made in Europe and America during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries? (Reference No 19)
- 10 How did political reforms in Spain affect the Philippine demand for reforms? (References Nos 9 18, 21)
- 11 Why did secularization become a Filipino national issue? (References Nos 9, 14 17)
- 12 What was the effect of the Cavite revolt on Filipino reform propaganda? (Reference No 18)
- 13 Give an account of Filipino propaganda abroad (References Nos 9 14 16 17, 18 20, 21 22)
- 14 Show the rôles played by Rizal, by M H del Pilar, and by Lopez Jaena in the work of reform propaganda (References Nos 9, 14 17 20, 21)
- 15 Show the rôle played by Freemasonry in the demand for liberal reforms in the Philippines (References Nos 9 14 20)
- 16 What was the effect of the execution of Rizal?
17. What was the Pact of Biacabato? How was it carried out?

CHAPTER XIII

AMERICA IN THE PHILIPPINES

I EVENTS LEADING TO THE COMING OF AMERICA

The Spanish-American War. What caused the Spanish American War? According to American writers, it was the sympathetic attitude of the American people toward the cause of *Cuban independence*. *Conditions in Cuba became so unbearable that President William McKinley in April, 1898, sent a special message to Congress in which he said*

It is plain that it (the insurrection) cannot be extinguished by present methods. In the name of humanity, in the name of civilization, in the behalf of endangered American interests, which give us the right and duty to speak and to act, the war in Cuba must stop

The following day Congress passed a series of resolutions declaring

1 That the people of the island of Cuba are and of right ought to be free and independent

2 That it is the duty of the United States to demand that Spain should give up Cuba and withdraw its forces from the island

3 That the President is directed and empowered to use all the forces of the United States to call out the militia in order to carry out these resolutions

4 That the United States disclaims any intention of control over said island except for the pacification thereof and asserts its determination, when that is accomplished, to leave the government and control of the island to its people

These resolutions meant war, which was formally declared on April 25, 1898

Filipino American cooperation With Spain as a common enemy what was more natural than that the Filipinos and Americans should get together and cooperate? The invitation for Filipino cooperation came from the representative of the United States Mr Spencer Pratt American consul in Singapore Admiral George Dewey knew of this cooperation in fact he furnished the *McCulloch* which brought Aguinaldo to

Cavite Arms and ammunition were bought in Hongkong by the American consul general there What promises were given by the representatives of America to the Filipino leaders whose cooperation was so earnestly sought at this time of need is still a disputed question It is undisputed that the Americans at this time helped the Filipinos in their renewed fight against Spain and the Filipinos cooperated willingly and enthusiastically because they felt that as Mr Pratt said the United States would at least rec

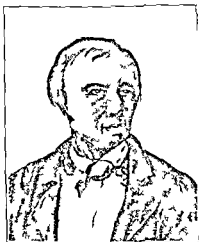


FIG 55 TYPE OF OFFICIAL IN THE SPANISH PHILIPPINE GOVERNMENT

Courtesy of Dr Pardo de Tavera

ognize the independence of the Philippines under a naval protectorate and that there was no need of putting the agreement in writing as Mr Pratt asked since the words of Admiral Dewey and the American consul were sacred and would be fulfilled not being like that of Spaniards Further more the people of the Philippines knew that America fought against Spain in order to liberate Cuba and they naturally expected that she would adopt the same policy toward the Philippines since their grievances against Spain were the same as Cuba's

Renewed war against Spain by Filipinos. Seeing the danger from American attack, the Spaniards in the Philippines adopted a policy of conciliating the Filipinos — a move which gained quite a headway even among the Tagalogs. But the return of Aguinaldo backed up by the promise of American coöperation changed the current of events. America was hailed as the liberator of oppressed races, and Spain's alluring promises were forgotten.

The days following the arrival of Aguinaldo at Cavite on May 19 and his conference with Admiral Dewey on the flagship *Olympia* were crowded with events of great significance for the history of the Philippine government.

May 30 was the day designated for a general renewal of war against Spain. But even before that date — in fact, soon after the battle of Manila Bay — towns in Cavite fell into the hands of Filipino troops. On May 29 Bataan rose. By the middle of June, 1898, Cavite, Laguna, Batangas, Bulacan, Pampanga, and the environs of Manila were completely in the hands of the revolutionary forces. Admiral Dewey congratulated Aguinaldo on these successes, and allowed the landing of guns and ammunition bought at Hongkong. By the time the American troops had arrived, which was toward the end of June, the Filipino forces had put all of Manila in a state of siege.

Filipino government organized. A dictatorial government was the kind at first organized by Aguinaldo, but later, upon the advice of Apolinario Mabini, who had become adviser to the dictator, a revolutionary government was set up, with Aguinaldo as president. There was created a revolutionary congress, composed of representatives from the provinces. A cabinet was also provided for, with Baldomero Aguinaldo as secretary of war and public works, Leandro Ibarra as secretary of the interior and other branches, Mariano Trias as secretary of finance and other branches. A few days later Cayetano S. Arellano (Fig. 56) was appointed secretary of foreign affairs, and T. H. Pardo de Tavera director of diplomacy.

The local governments were likewise organized along democratic lines. The inhabitants over twenty-one years of age who desired independence elected in general assembly, by majority vote, the chief of the town, a *cabeza* for each *barrio*, and three delegates — all of these constituting the local popular junta.



FIG 56 THE HONORABLE CAYETANO ARELLANO

Secretary of Foreign Affairs and later first Filipino Chief Justice of the Supreme Court

The head of the province was chosen by the town chiefs assembled in convention, and with him were chosen three councilors to form the provincial council.

In the meanwhile, on June 12, the leaders of the revolution assembled in Kawit solemnly declared the independence of the Philippines, giving Aguinaldo, who was then dictator, full authority to exercise the powers of government. "The undersigned," says the declaration, "solemnly vow to uphold that banner and defend it to the last drop of blood."

On August 1 the chiefs of the reorganized towns in general assembly ratified the declaration of in-

dependence made in Kawit on June 12. The provinces represented were Cavite, Pampanga, Manila, Bulacan, Bataan, Nueva Ecija, Laguna, Morong, Tarlac, Batangas, Mindoro, Tayabas, Zambales, Pangasinan, Union, and Infanta.

According to a message of Aguinaldo to the foreign powers issued on August 6, there were then under control of the new

government about nine thousand prisoners of war, who were treated in accordance with requirements of international law, and there was a standing army of over thirty thousand men, organized according to military usage.

The capture of Manila by threat. With American gunboats controlling Manila and threatening to bombard it, and the Filipino forces enveloping it on land, the Spaniards realized the futility of further resistance. But Spanish honor required that some attempt should be made to defend the city, for the Spanish military code forbade the capitulation of a fortified town without such defense; the commander would have been liable to a court-martial and severe penalties.

Through the intercession of the Belgian consul André an agreement was reached in August between the Spanish and American authorities, by which Manila was to be surrendered to America after some show of resistance while the Filipino troops should be kept out. This plan was carried out. It saved Spanish honor, but it also marked the beginning of Filipino-American disagreement, for the Filipinos felt that the Americans had abandoned their former policy of coöperation.¹

Further organization of Filipino government. The last Spanish governor-general in the Philippines, Diego de los Ríos, transferred the capital to Iloilo, and tried to retain the Visayas for Spain by offering liberal reforms to the people. These offers were refused, for the southern provinces had already organized their revolutionary governments. On November 17 an assembly held at Santa Barbara, Iloilo, formed a provisional revolutionary government of the Visayas with Roque López as president and Vicente Franco as vice president. Among the counselors were Ramón Aranceña, Jovito Yusay, Julio Hernandez, and Fernando Salas. On December 12, 1898, upon the recommendation of Francisco Villanueva, who was sent to Manila as emissary of the Visayan revolutionists, the revolu-

¹ See James A. LeRoy, *The Americans in the Philippines*, Vol. I, chap. vi, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1914.

tionary government was changed to a council of state of the Visayas the plan being to organize all the Visayan provinces into a federal state subordinated to the central national government. This reorganized council consisted of the following: Roque López, president of the council of state, Vicente Franco, vice president, Jovito Yusuy, Ramon Avancena, Julio Hernandez, Magdaleno Javellana, councilors for Iloilo, Fernando Salas, councilor for Cebu, Agustin Montilla and Juan de Leon, councilors for Negros Occidental, Juan Carballo for Negros Oriental, Vicente Cella for Antique, Venancio Concepcion for Capiz, Numeriano Villalobos, for Concepcion district, Raymundo Melliza for Leyte, Francisco Sonano for Samar, Francisco Villanueva, general secretary.

The central government which moved to Malolos on September 9 had in the meantime undergone further reorganization. The revolutionary congress met for the first time on September 15 with Pedro A. Paterno as president. It ratified the Philippine declaration of independence—an event solemnly celebrated on September 29. On November 29 it approved the Malolos constitution, the author of which was Felipe G. Calderon, a lawyer of note. Mabini, Aginaldo's adviser, opposed the approval of the constitution by the president, on the ground that it took away many of his powers. But the advocates of greater powers in congress prevailed, Aginaldo approved it on December 23, 1898, and on January 23, 1899, the constitutional Philippine Republic was proclaimed at Malolos.¹ On

¹The members of the national assembly which approved the constitution of the Philippine Republic were: Aguedo Velarde, Alberto Barreto, Ambrosio Rianzares Bautista, Antonio Luna, Antonio Feliciano Arcadio del Rosario, Aristón Bautista, Aristón Cella, Arsenio Cruz Herrera, Basilio Teodoro Benito Legarda, Ceferino de León, Domingo Samsón, Esteban de la Rama, Felipe Buencamino, Felipe Calderón, Félix Bautista, Felix Ferrer, Pascual Fernando Canón, Graciano Cordero, Gregorio Aguilera, Gregorio Aglipay, Higinio Benitez, Hipolito Magalán, Hugo Pagan, Iganacio Villamor, Isidoro Torres, Isidro Paredes, Javier Gonzales, Salvador Joaquín, Gonzalez Joaquín, Luna, José Basa, José Salamanca, José R. Infante, José I. Oliveros, José Tuason, José Santiago

that occasion Aguinaldo showed in his inaugural address that he still had faith in the aid of America. He said:

The 23rd day of January will henceforth be for the Philippines a national holiday, just as the 4th of July is for the North-American nation. And just as in the last century God aided weak America when she was struggling against the powerful Albion in order to reconquer her liberty and independence, so will He help us today in this our identical enterprise since the course of divine justice is immutable, both in integrity and in wisdom



FIG 57. TYPE OF MODERN BRIDGE

American decision to keep the Philippines. But contrary to Filipino hopes, and in spite of Filipino efforts to bring their

José M. de la Viña, José M. Lerma, José Albert, José Coronel, José Alejandrino, José Fernández, José Luna, Juan Nepomuceno, Juan Manday, Juan Tuason, Justo Lukban, León Apacible, León María Guerrero, Lorenzo del Rosario, Lucas Gonzales Manunang, Manuel Xerez Burgos, Manuel Gómez Martínez, Marcial Calleja, Mariano Orisostomo, Martín García, Mateo Gutierrez Ubaldo, Mateo del Rosario, Melecio Figueroa, Mena Crisologo, Miguel Zaragoza, Narciso Hidalgo Resurreccion, Pablo Ocampo, Pablo Tecson Roque, Patricio Bailon, Pedro A. Paterno, Perfecto Gabriel, Pil del Pilar, Raymundo Alindada, Ricardo Paras, Salvador V. del Rosario, Santiago Barcelona, Santiago Icasiano, Sebastian de Casto, Simplicio del Rosario, Sofio Alandi, Sotero Laurel, Telesforo Chuidian, Teodoro Sandiko, Teodoro González, Tomas Arejola, Tomas G. del Rosario, Trinidad H. Pardo de Tavera, Vicente Foz, Vicente Guzman Pagulayan, Vicente del Pardo, Vicente Somoza, Vito Belarmino

claim to independence to the attention of American authorities both in Washington and in Paris, where the treaty of peace was being framed America decided to aid the Philippines not by granting them independence, as Agunaldo had asked in his inaugural address but by keeping them

The treaty of Paris ceding the whole of the Philippines to the United States was signed December 10 1898 To the Filipinos this seemed the deathblow to their national aspiration The treaty was ratified by the American Senate on February 6 1899 but even before that date on December 21 1898 President McKinley had issued a proclamation in which he said that 'with the signature of the treaty of peace, the future control disposition and government of the Philippine Islands are ceded to the United States', and he instructed the military authorities in the Philippines to extend by force American sovereignty over this country

In the face of such policy the Filipinos were aroused, and tried every means to obtain a peaceful settlement of their conflict with the United States The entire month of January, 1899, was devoted to conferences with the American military authorities The delegates of the Filipino government were Florentino Torres General Ambrosio Flores Coronel Manuel Arguelles, those representing General Otis were Brigadier General Hughes, Colonel James F Smith, and Lieutenant Colonel E H Crowder

Meanwhile, advocates of the treaty of Paris were finding difficulty in getting the approval of the American Senate There was enough opposition to make its ratification by a two thirds vote problematical The final vote was to be taken on February 6, 1899 The American army fired the first shot of the Filipino American war on the night of February 4 The news of this war swayed enough votes in the Senate to ratify the treaty, but with only one vote to spare

Filipino-American war. That this war was not the insignificant affair which it was represented to the authorities in Wash-

ington may be seen from the fact that it lasted till April 16, 1902, when General Miguel Malvar, the last commanding general of Filipino forces, surrendered in Samar. On November 1, 1899, the American army had about 40,000 officers and men and had taken 53 Filipino posts; by September 1, 1900, it had 61,000 officers and soldiers and held 413 posts; and in March of 1901 it had 503 posts, with a standing army of 70,000 men. There was an average of forty-four engagements a month from the beginning of the war till the end of November, 1899; from December 1, 1899, to June 30, 1900, the monthly average was one hundred and six engagements.

During this period there were attempts on the part of the Filipino leaders to come to a peaceable settlement. On May 1, 1899, Mabini asked the Schurman Commission, which arrived in March of that year, for an armistice. But General Otis objected strongly to any armistice unless the Filipinos laid down their arms as a condition to further negotiations. On the other hand, the Schurman Commission was authorized by President McKinley to offer to the Filipinos an autonomous government. But Mabini would not accept the offer until the opinion of the people had been heard during the armistice which he requested. The war had to continue.

As a result of Mabini's absolute stand against America's offer of autonomy the Filipino cabinet was reorganized with Pedro A. Paterno as president; Felipe Buencamino, secretary of foreign affairs; Severino de las Alas, secretary of the interior; Mariano Trias, secretary of war; Hugo Ilagan, secretary of finance; Aguedo Velarde, secretary of public instruction; Maximino Paterno, secretary of public works and communications; and León María Guerrero, secretary of agriculture, industry, and commerce. This was known as the peace cabinet, and its first move was to ask for another conference with the American Commission with a view to establishing an honorable peace based on the autonomy offered by America. A conference committee was appointed, but General Antonio

Luna objected strenuously to its being sent unless independence was the reward of peace. Nevertheless, the government sent another committee, among the members of which were Gracio Gonzaga, Alberto Barreto member of congress, and Gregorio H del Pilar. Several conferences were held with the Schurman Commission, but all efforts failed because General Otis insisted on the Filipinos' laying down their arms, and the Filipino petition for an armistice in order to ascertain the people's opinion was likewise turned down. War was renewed with greater vigor on both sides.

The capture of Aginaldo at Palanan on March 23, 1901, broke the military morale of the Filipinos. Subdued by main force, they gave up their armed struggle for national independence. America's policy of attraction, together with her strength had broken Filipino resistance. The people saw by America's policy in the Philippines that their national aspiration could be attained with the aid of the United States. The revolutionary leaders themselves having proved that their people knew how to give the utmost sacrifice when their country called were now willing to sacrifice their military pride and heed the call of their countrymen who had accepted peace and were beginning a new type of struggle within the bounds of law and order.

It will now be our task briefly to review Filipino progress during the years following the American occupation.

II POLITICAL PROGRESS

Military government Soon after the battle of Manila Bay, President McKinley issued instructions on May 19 and on December 21, 1898, for the military government of the captured territory.¹

¹ See James H Blount *The American Occupation of the Philippines 1898-1917*. G. P. Putnam & Sons New York and London 1917. See also James A. LeRoy *The Americans in the Philippines* Vol. I. Houghton Mifflin Company, 1914.

It was in the last of these instructions that the "benevolent assimilation" policy was expressed. President McKinley said

Finally, it should be the earnest wish and paramount aim of the military administration to win the confidence, respect, and affection of the inhabitants of the Philippines by assuring them in every possible way that full measure of individual rights and liberties which is the heritage of free peoples, and by proving to them that the mission of the United States is one of benevolent assimilation substituting the mild sway of justice and right for arbitrary rule.

The military commander, or governor, exercised all three powers of government. The policy of winning the good will of the people was carried out even by the military government in its administration of civil affairs. Schools were immediately opened with enlisted men for temporary teachers. Civil courts were opened under army officers but the supreme court was reorganized to consist of six distinguished Filipino lawyers and three officers of the army, with Cayetano Arellano as president. Later courts of first instance were organized. Municipal governments were also organized, according to a plan submitted by a board consisting of Chief Justice Arellano, Attorney General Florentino Torres, and three American judicial officers.¹

First Philippine Commission. In order to aid the government at Washington in shaping a Philippine policy and "to cooperate with the naval and military authorities at Manila in the effective extension of American sovereignty over the archipelago," President McKinley sent to the Philippines a commission consisting of the following: President Jacob Gould Schurman of Cornell University, president of the Commission, Major General Elwell S. Otis, military governor of the Philippines, Rear Admiral George Dewey, commander of the Asiatic Squadron, the Honorable Charles Denby, former minister to

¹ See George A. Malcolm, *The Government of the Philippine Islands*, chap. v. The Lawyers Co-operative Publishing Company, Rochester, N. Y., 1916.

China, and Dean C Worcester, professor at the University of Michigan, who had made two scientific expeditions to the Philippines

Policy and work of the Commission. This Schurman Commission, as it was called, reached Manila on March 4, 1899. In harmony with its policy of conciliation, the Commission issued a proclamation to the people of the Philippines on April 4, which said that the aim of the American government

is the well being, the prosperity, and the happiness of the Philippine people and their elevation and advancement to a position among the most civilized peoples of the world.¹ His Excellency the President of the United States believes that this felicity and perfection of the Philippine people is to be brought about by the assurance of peace and order, by the guaranty of civil and religious liberty by the establishment of justice, by the cultivation of letters, science, and the liberal and practical arts, by the enlargements of intercourse with foreign nations, by the expansion of industrial pursuits, trade, and commerce, by the multiplication and improvement of the means of internal communication, by the development, with the aid of modern mechanical inventions, of the great natural resources of the archipelago, and, in a word, by the uninterrupted devotion of the people to the pursuit of those useful objects and the realization of those noble ideals which constitute the higher civilization of mankind.

The Schurman Commission further promised that

Both in the establishment and maintenance of government in the Philippine Islands it will be the policy of the United States to consult the views and wishes, and to secure the advice, coöperation, and aid, of the Philippine people themselves.¹

Among the cardinal principles promised is the following:

Honor, justice, and friendship forbid the use of the Philippine people or islands as an object or means of exploitation.² The purpose of the American Government is the welfare and advancement of the Philippine people.

¹ Philippine Commission Report, 1900 Vol I, pp 3-5

And again further

There shall be guaranteed to the Philippine people an honest and effective civil service, in which to the fullest extent practicable, natives shall be employed¹

And finally, it concludes with this appeal

Such is the spirit in which the United States comes to the people of the Philippine Island² His Excellency the President, has instructed the Commission to make it publicly known. And in obeying this behest the Commission desire to join with his Excellency, the President in expressing their own good will toward the Philippine people, and to extend to their leading and representative men a cordial invitation to meet them for personal acquaintance and for the exchange of views and opinions.

After making investigations for several months the Schurman Commission was recalled in September, 1899. The report submitted by it consists of four volumes and contains much information concerning Philippine history and conditions.

Second Philippine Commission For the purpose of instituting civil government in the Philippines, on March 16, 1900 President McKinley appointed a new Commission with Judge William H. Taft as president, and the following as members: Professor Dean C. Worcester of Michigan, the Honorable Luke F. Wright of Tennessee, the Honorable Henry C. Ide of Vermont, and Professor Bernard Moses of California.

President McKinley's instructions President McKinley's instructions to this Commission, issued on April 7, 1900 have been characterized by LeRoy as the "Magna Charta of the Philippines" and by Mr. Justice Malcolm as a "remarkable"

¹ Philippine Commission Report, 1900, Vol. I, pp. 3-5.

² George A. Malcolm, *The Government of the Philippine Islands*, p. 216. The Lawyers Co-operative Publishing Company, Rochester, N. Y., 1916. See Philippine Laws, Vol. I, Maximo M. Kalaw, *The Case for the Filipinas*, Appendix B. Charles B. Illot, *The Philippines*, Vol. II, Appendix C. The Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1917.

state paper which gave the Philippines all the best and basic of enlightened Anglo Saxon jurisprudence — a worthy rival of the Laws of the Indies

In addition to imposing "upon every division and branch of the government of the Philippines" ¹ "certain great principles of government which have been made the basis of our governmental system which we deem essential to the rule of law and the maintenance of individual freedom" ¹ (referring to the bill of rights which it enumerates) the instructions enjoin the Commission

to devote their attention in the first instance to the establishment of municipal governments in which the natives of the islands both in the cities and in the rural communities shall be afforded the opportunity to manage their own local affairs to the fullest extent of which they are capable, and subject to the least degree of supervision and control ¹ The next subject in order of importance should be the organization of government in the larger administrative divisions, corresponding to counties, departments, or provinces

That the training in democratic self government should be based on local administration is seen in the instruction that "in the distribution of powers among the governments organized by the Commission, the presumption is always to be in favor of the smaller subdivision" ¹

Self government also was to be developed by giving the people a chance to participate in their own government

That in all cases the municipal officers who administer the local affairs of the people are to be selected by the people, and that wherever officers of more extended jurisdiction are to be selected in any way natives of the Islands are to be preferred, and if they can be found competent and willing to perform the duties they are to receive the offices in preference to others ² It will be necessary to

¹ Public Laws and Resolutions passed by the United States Philippine Commission 1900 Vol I pp 6 10

fill some offices for the present with Americans which after a time, may well be filled by natives of the Islands

That acceptance of American theoretical views and prejudices was not to be the final test seems apparent in the following instruction

In all the forms of government and administrative provisions which they are authorized to prescribe, the Commission should bear in mind that the government which they are establishing is designed not for our satisfaction or for the expression of our theoretical views but for the happiness, peace, and prosperity of the people of the Philippine Islands and the measures adopted should be made to conform to their customs, their habits, and even their prejudices, to the fullest extent consistent with the accomplishment of the indispensable requisites of just and effective government ¹

Controversies over titles to large tracts of land held by religious orders were to be settled justly. The Commission

should regard of first importance the extension of a system of primary education which shall be free to all, and which shall tend to fit the people for the duties of citizenship and for the ordinary vocations of a civilized community ¹. This instruction should be given, in the first instance, in every part of the islands in the language of the people. It is especially important to the prosperity of the islands that a common medium of communication may be established, and it is obviously desirable that this medium should be the English language. Especial attention should be at once given to affording full opportunity to all the people of the islands to acquire the use of the English language.

The final appeal is directed to Americans

Upon ¹ all officers and employees of the United States, both civil and military, should be impressed a sense of the duty to observe not merely the material but the personal and social rights of the people of the Islands and to treat them with the same courtesy and respect for their personal dignity which the people of the United States are ¹

¹ Public Laws and Resolutions passed by the United States Philippine Commission 1900 Vol I pp 6-10

accustomed to require from each other I charge this Commission to labor for the full performance of this obligation, which concerns the honor and conscience of their country, in the firm hope that through their labors all the inhabitants of the Philippine Islands may come to look back with gratitude to the day when God gave victory to American arms at Manila and set their land under the sovereignty and protection of the people of the United States



FIG 58 THE HONORABLE WILLIAM H
TAFT

Establishment of civil government and its significance The Commission began to exercise legislative functions on September 1, 1900, the commanding general of the army remaining as civil governor till July 4, 1901, when civil government was fully established, and the Honorable William H. Taft (Fig 58) was inaugurated civil governor.

On September 1 there were added to this Commission three Filipino members. The Filipinos appointed were Dr. Trinidad H. Pardo de Tavera, Benito Legarda, and Jose Luzuriaga.

What was the significance of the establishment of civil government? Mr. Taft explained it thus in his inaugural address:

This ceremony marks a new step toward civil government in the Philippines.¹ The ultimate and most important step of course, will

¹ William H. Taft, Inaugural Address of the Civil Governor in Philippine Commission Report, 1901, Part 2, House Documents, Vol. X.

be taken by the Congress of the United States, but with the consent of the Congress the President is seeking to make the Islands ready for its action. However provisional the change made to-day, the President by fixing the natal day of the Republic as its date has manifested his view of its importance and his hope that the day so dear to Americans may perhaps be also associated in the minds of Filipino people with good fortune. The transfer to the Commission of the legislative power and certain executive functions in the civil affairs under the military government on September first of last year, and now the transfer of civil executive power in the pacified provinces to a civil governor, are successive stages in a clearly formulated plan for making the territory of these Islands ripe for permanent civil government on a more or less popular basis.

The significance of appointing Filipino members was also pointed out by him:

The introduction into the legislature of representative Filipinos, educated and able, will materially assist the Commission in its work by their intimate knowledge of the people and of local prejudices and conditions.¹

On the same date, September 1, 1901, the central government was divided into four executive departments: department of the interior, under Dean C Worcester, department of commerce and police, under Luke E Wright, department of justice and finance, under Henry C Ide, and department of public instruction, under Bernard Moses. One of the secretaries was designated vice governor on October 29, 1901.

The Filipinos were also given participation in the local and provincial governments, by the new municipal and provincial government codes. The municipalities were given to elective officials. The provincial governments were made partially autonomous, with an elective governor and two appointed officials: the treasurer and the supervisor (the latter an engi-

¹ Will am H Taft. Inaugural Address of the Civil Governor in Philippine Commission Report 1901 Part 2 House Documents Vol X.

neer) both of whom at first were Americans. The provincial fiscal and the provincial secretary were Filipinos.

Opposition to civil government There was much opposition to the establishment of civil government and the appointment of Filipinos to public offices as instructed by President McKinley. Of this Mr Taft complained as follows:

There are in the city of Manila American papers owned and edited by Americans who have the bitterest feeling toward the Filipinos and entertain the view that legislation for the benefit of the Filipinos or appointment to office of Filipinos is evidence of a lack of loyalty to the Americans who have come to settle in the islands.¹ Accordingly they write the most scurrilous articles impeaching the honesty of Filipino officials, the Filipino judges, and the whole Filipino people as a basis for attacking the policy of the Commission.

Of the opposition of the military elements to civil government Mr Taft said:

There has been a tendency among the military officers to regard civil government as a failure and this view has been reflected by those correspondents who have been with the army and have imbibed the opinion of the army messes and the Army and Navy Club in Manila but a better acquaintance with the actual governments shows these criticisms to be unfounded.¹ The civil provincial governments and the municipal governments are going concerns having defects in their operation it is true but nevertheless furnishing to the people who are subject to their respective jurisdictions a protection to life, liberty and property, an opportunity to obtain justice through the courts, education for their children in the schools, and the right to pursue their usual vocations.

Increasing participation by Filipinos in the government
The next important step intended to give the people more self-government was the establishment of a popularly elected assembly as provided in the organic act or Philippine Bill.

¹ William H. Taft, *Civil Government in the Philippines*, in *The Outlook*, May 31, 1902.

approved by Congress July 1, 1902; the conditions required in that act were complied with. General peace was attained in 1902. A census was taken, which was finished in 1905.

Two years thereafter, on July 30, 1907, the president of the United States called for a general election. The result of this election placed the advocates of independence in power. The Federal party, which had theretofore asked for permanent annexation and ultimate statehood, was *not supported by the people*. It should be stated, however, that even before the election of 1907 prominent members of the Federal party, who were in the United States with the Filipino commission sent to visit the St. Louis Exposition, saw that the American people and government themselves did not favor the idea of *Philippine statehood*.

The Philippine Assembly elected Sergio Osmeña (Fig. 59) as its first speaker. Under his leadership Filipino participation proved to be a constructive factor in the government. Those who prophesied its failure were disappointed. Exercising equal legislative power with the Philippine Commission, it provided the constitutional means of making the voice of the people heard in the government.

The organic act of 1902 likewise provided for the election by the Philippine Legislature of two resident commissioners to



FIG 59 SERGIO OSMEÑA

First Speaker of the Philippine Assembly

the United States with seats in Congress but without vote. The first commissioners sent were Benito Legarda and Pablo Ocampo

With the triumph at the polls of the Nacionalistas, the party which favored independence, it became necessary to give them representation on the Philippine Commission. In 1908, accordingly, one more Filipino was added to the Commission, and

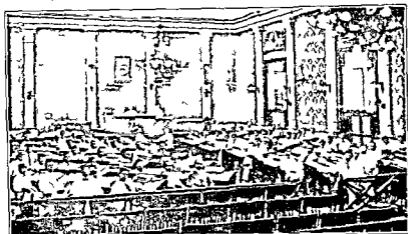


FIG 60 THE FIRST PHILIPPINE ASSEMBLY, MANILA, 1908

the number of members was increased to nine, five Americans and four Filipinos. Rafael Palma, then a member of the Assembly, was the additional member.

Progress in self government was also made when, in 1907, the third seat on the provincial board became elective, so that, together with the governor, the popular representatives were in control.

As described by Mr Taft, then Secretary of War, the status of Philippine self government after the opening of the Assembly (Fig 60) was as follows:

We¹ first, therefore, have the autonomy of the municipality, restrained by the disciplinary action of the governor-general, the

¹ Special Report of William H Taft, Secretary of War, to the President, 1908

restraint upon the expenditure of its funds by the provincial treasurers, and the audit of its funds by the central authority; second, the partial autonomy of the provincial governments in the election of a governor, the more complete autonomy by the constitution of the provincial board of two elective members out of three, the restraint upon the board by the presence of a member of the provincial board appointed by the governor, the visitatorial powers of the governor-general for disciplinary purposes in respect of the provincial officers, the restraining, influence and assistance of the central constabulary force, the modification of complete American central control by the introduction of three appointed Filipinos into the Commission, followed after five years by the inauguration of a completely popular elective Assembly to exercise equal legislative power with the Commission. This progressive policy has justified itself in many ways, and especially in the restoration of order.



FIG 61. FRANCIS BURTON HARRISON

Control of the Legislature gained by Filipinos. The Philippine Commission continued to have a majority of American members until the election of a Democratic president, Woodrow Wilson, and the appointment of a new governor-general, Francis Burton Harrison, who reached Manila on October 6, 1913. On that day began a new era in the progress of Filipino self-government. Before an immense crowd at the Luneta, Governor Harrison (Fig. 61) delivered the historic message of President Wilson to the people of the Philippines. It reads as follows:

We regard ourselves as trustees acting not for the advantage of the United States, but for the benefit of the people of the Philippine Islands

Every step we take will be taken with a view to the ultimate independence of the Islands and as a preparation for that independence. And we hope to move towards that end as rapidly as safety and the permanent interests of the Islands will permit. After each step taken experience will guide us to the next.

The administration will take one step at once and will give to the native citizens of the Islands a majority in the appointive Commission and thus in the Upper as well as in the Lower House of the Legislature a majority representation will be secured.

We do this in the confident hope and expectation that immediate proof will be given in the action of the Commission under the new arrangement of the political capacity of those native citizens who have already come forward to represent and to lead their people in affairs.

In harmony with the policy voiced in President Wilson's Message to Congress on December 2, 1913 of putting "under the control of the native citizens of the Archipelago the essential instruments of their life, their local instrumentalities of government, their schools, all the common interests of the communities," the following were appointed to the Commission: Victorino Mapa, secretary of finance and justice, Rafael Palma, reappointed, Vicente Ilustre, Jaime de Veyra, Vicente Sison Encarnacion. The new American members were Henderson E. Martin, vice governor general and secretary of public instruction, John L. Riggs, secretary of commerce and police, and Winfred T. Denison, secretary of the interior.

Of the Filipinos in consultation with whom he governed Governor Harrison said:

In public affairs I found them ever conscientious and patriotic, with a fine sense of the respect owed the United States Government and a due consciousness of obligation to their own people.¹ Never

¹ Francis Burton Harrison *The Corner Stone of Philippine Independence* p. 69. The Century Co. 1912.

was an anti American measure introduced intentionally. They realized that the Filipinos were on trial, and that they themselves were the representatives of their fellow countrymen before the world. I found them in debate, and in the care with which they cast their votes, as full of responsibility and of intelligent understanding as any legislators I have known anywhere. Those departments of government which they had never possessed before, and which were therefore new to them, were studied with the utmost care and deliberation.

The civil service Filipinized It will be remembered that the instructions of President McKinley enjoined the preference of natives of the Philippines in appointments to public offices.

While that was the law and has been the law since American occupation, there were times when the Filipino people thought that it was not being carried out as the strict letter and spirit demanded. From 1907 and 1908 up to 1913 there was very little Filipinization in the Philippine civil service. In 1913 there were actually more Americans in the civil service than in 1907 and 1908. Many of these Americans filled mere clerical positions which could very well have been held by qualified Filipinos. From 1913 however Filipinization grew with the arrival of Governor General Francis Burton Harrison. It has continued growing up to the present. The proportion of Filipinos to Americans during the period 1914-1921 is shown in the following list.

YEAR	NUMBER OF		TOTAL	PERCENTAGE	
	American	Filipinos		American	Filipinos
1914	7,148	7,283	9,451	23	77
1915	7,935	7,881	9,816	0	80
1916	7,730	8,725	10,455	17	83
1917	7,310	9,859	11,169	12	88
1918	6,048	10,800	11,814	8	92
1919	760	12,047	12,807	6	94
1920	582	12,651	13,143	4	96
1921	614	13,240	13,854	4	96

¹ Statement of Act 11 C. 11 as to the Philippine Islands. House Document No. 311, 67th Congress, Washington, 1923.

Effect of Filipinization. What has been the effect of the faithful realization of the policy of President McKinley on the public service in the Philippines? This is a moot question. The testimony of the highest representative of America in the Philippine Islands during the period of most rapid nationalization of the public service should be of interest.



FIG 62 THE FIRST PHILIPPINE ASSEMBLY IN JOINT SESSION,
NOVEMBER 15, 1916

It is customary to attribute to Filipinization an impairment of administration, it would be only just to say that in many respects efficiency had been gained, in that the new government had the support and cooperation of the people to a marked degree, thus making much easier the task of administration.¹ The distribution of executive power and the exercise of more genuine authority by many officials, the gradual withdrawal of the central Government from minute inspection and direction of minor functions — in other

¹ Francis Burton Harrison *The Corner Stone of Philippine Independence*, p 88
The Century Co 1922

words, the extension of self government and the spread of democracy — may in themselves have impaired somewhat the efficiency of administration. If so, that disadvantage is more than offset by the gain in contentment of the people, the growth of respect and friendship for the United States, and the valuable lessons in self-government secured by the Filipinos

The autonomy act of 1916 In keeping with the message of President Wilson to the Filipino people that "every step we take will be taken with a view to the ultimate independence of the Islands and as a preparation for that independence," the Congress of the United States, by almost unanimous vote of the two leading parties, approved the Jones Act (entitled "An Act to declare the purpose of the people of the United States as to the future political status of the people of the Philippine Islands, and to provide a more autonomous government for those islands") on August 29, 1916. The purpose of the United States was declared in the preamble

Whereas it was never the intention of the people of the United States in the incipency of the War with Spain to make it a war of conquest or for territorial aggrandizement,¹ and

Whereas it is, as it has always been, the purpose of the people of the United States to withdraw their sovereignty over the Philippine Islands and to recognize their independence as soon as a stable government can be established therein, and

Whereas, for the speedy accomplishment of such purpose, it is desirable to place in the hands of the people of the Philippines as large a control of their domestic affairs as can be given them without in the meantime impairing the exercise of the rights of sovereignty by the people of the United States in order that by the use and exercise of popular franchise and governmental powers they may be the better prepared to fully assume the responsibilities and enjoy all the privileges of complete independence. Therefore

In the words of the second parliamentary mission to the United States

¹ Jones Law

The Jones Law was received by the Filipino people as the real pledge of the American people, for the other statements of American residents were mere executive opinion not necessarily binding on the United States

Effect of the promise in the act "Anyone who was present in the Philippines during those days will forever remember the outburst of wild enthusiasm of the people" says Governor Harrison describing the reception given the Jones Law by the Filipinos "In every possible way demonstration was made of their pride, satisfaction and gratitude for the self government granted" Resident Commissioner Manuel L. Quezon "returned to Manila a real popular hero he received ovations on all sides"

But that promise as Mr Taft had prophesied long before, might prove to be a source of discord What if the promise were not fulfilled as understood by the people? Such was Mr Taft's warning

A promise to give the people independence when they are fitted for it would inevitably be accepted by the agitators and generally by the people as a promise to give them independence within the present generation and would therefore be misleading, and the source of bitter criticism of the American government within a few years after the promise was given and not performed as it was understood by the people¹

President Theodore Roosevelt who had most to do with the formulation of American policy in the Philippines realized the significance of America's promise, and shortly before his death wrote "This Administration was elected on the specific promise to give freedom to the Philippines" The United States must keep its promises" After referring to the inability of the United States to defend distant dependencies he said "Above² all we have promised the Filipinos independence in

¹ William H Taft Civil Government in the Philippines in *The Outlook* May 31 1902

² Theodore Roosevelt *Fear God and Take Your Own Part* pp 26 227 George H Doran Company 1916

terms which were inevitably understood to be independence in the immediate future "

Governmental reorganization. In addition to the promise of independence, the Jones Law reorganized the government of the Philippines. It gave the Filipinos an elective senate, thus completing their control of legislation, subject to the veto of the governor-general. Governor-General Harrison said

The spirit as well as the letter of the Jones Act was to turn over to the Filipinos most of the powers of government of their own internal affairs¹. There were still restrictions upon their borrowing capacity in the new charter, and Congress retained the final right to annul any law they passed, — a right never yet exercised, and most unlikely to be employed under any circumstances. The governor general, the vice governor, the justices of the Supreme Court, the auditor and deputy auditor were still to be appointees of the President, all the other offices were under the control of the Filipinos, either directly or by the right of confirmation of nominations of the governor-general, bestowed by the new constitution upon the Philippine Senate.

Acting upon the authority granted by the Jones Law to reorganize all the executive departments, the new Legislature approved a reorganization act. There were several important principles underlying this act.

In the first place, it was intended to make the departmental secretaries responsible to the Legislature. How was this done? The reorganization act, as finally passed (Act No. 2666, as amended by Act No. 2803 and incorporated as Chapter V in the administrative code), provides several means whereby the responsibility of the executive heads to the Legislature can be effected. The secretaries of departments, excepting the secretary of public instruction, are appointed at the beginning of each legislature, and with the consent of the Philippine senate, instead of for good behavior, as before. Thus, by inference,

¹ Francis Burton Harrison *The Corner-Stone of Philippine Independence*, p. 196. The Century Co., 1922.

means that the executive heads are to be appointed after each triennial election and that they are to be chosen in obedience to the popular will as expressed in such election. Members of the Legislature can become at the same time cabinet officers. It is true however that because of the provision of the Jones Law prohibiting members of the Legislature from occupying positions created by them no cabinet post was open to a member of this Legislature except the secretaryship of the interior, and this was later filled by a senator but in the subsequent elections all the cabinet posts if deemed necessary could be filled by legislative members. Secretaries of departments may be called by either of the two houses of the Legislature for the purpose of reporting on matters pertaining to their departments. The importance of this should not be overlooked. As expressed by Senator Palma this provision

may not look like very much on paper, but in reality it signifies a great deal.¹ The department heads will not only have to give the information required of them but being often subjected to minute interrogation they will have to explain and defend their official acts. If the houses can demand of them that they give an account of their official acts they are responsible to the houses though ultimately responsible to the Governor General.

Another aim of the reorganization was to have a more logical and scientific grouping of the bureaus with a view to increasing efficiency. Instead of the former four departments, six were created, to correspond to the six principal purposes which a fairly well organized government has to accomplish, namely

1. The political direction of the various local administrative units, such as departments, provincial and municipal governments and special governments (department of the interior)

2. The guardianship of the State over the mental development and physical welfare of the citizens (the department of public instruction)

¹ *Statement of Actual Conditions in the Philippine Islands* House Document No. 511 6th Congress Washington 1923

3 The collection of the public revenues and administration of the finances and business of the government (the department of finance)

4 The enforcement of the law and maintenance of order and safeguarding of the citizens and their rights (the department of justice)

5 The guardianship in connection with the preservation of the natural resources and the development of its sources of wealth (the department of agriculture and natural resources)

6 The carrying out of such work and services as cannot be performed by private citizens, conducive to the common welfare and public prosperity (the department of commerce and communications) ¹

The following are the bureaus and offices under their corresponding departments

Office of the governor general bureau of audits, bureau of civil service, Philippine National Guard

Department of the interior bureau of non Christian tribes Philippine General Hospital, board of pharmaceutical examiners and inspectors, boards of medical, dental, and optical examiners, board of examiners for nurses, executive bureau, Philippine constabulary, commissioner of public welfare for the cities of Manila and Baguio

Department of public instruction bureau of education, Philippine health service, bureau of quarantine service

Department of finance bureau of customs, bureau of internal revenue, bureau of the treasury, mint of the Philippine Islands, bureau of printing

Department of justice bureau of justice, courts of first instance and inferior courts, general land registration office, public utility commission, Philippine library and museum, bureau of prisons

¹ See *Statement of Actual Conditions in the Philippine Islands* House Document No 511 67th Congress Washington 1923

Department of agriculture and natural resources bureau of agriculture, agricultural colonies, bureau of forestry, bureau of lands, bureau of science, weather bureau

Department of commerce and communications bureau of public works, bureau of posts, bureau of supply, bureau of commerce and industry, bureau of labor, bureau of coast and geodetic survey

The heads of the six departments constituted the Cabinet, which acted as the governor's advisory board, by an executive order issued to that effect. As first constituted in January of 1917, the new cabinet was composed of the following: Rafael Palma, secretary of the interior, with Teodoro M. Kalaw as assistant, Dionisio Jakosalem, secretary of commerce and communications with Catalino Lavadia as assistant, Victorino Mapa, secretary of justice, with José Escaler as assistant, Alberto Barreto, secretary of finance, with Miguel Unson as assistant, Galicano Apacible, secretary of agriculture and natural resources, with Rafael Corpus as assistant; Charles E. Yeater, vice governor and secretary of public instruction, with Felix Roxas as assistant.

How the new government functioned. How did the new government reorganized in accordance with the new powers granted by the Jones Law work out in practice? To answer that question we should recall what were the defects inherent in the old system which the Jones Law superseded. The following is the criticism of the old system of government as submitted by the second parliamentary mission to Congress:

The Congress of the United States, in passing the organic act of 1902, decided to call a national assembly in 1907 to participate in the national lawmaking.¹ Being the only representative governmental organ, this assembly became the exponent of the ideals and aspirations of the Filipino people. It typified all the ideals of the people, and every step toward a more liberal form of government

¹ *Statement of Actual Conditions in the Philippine Islands* House Document No. 511, 67th Congress, Washington, 1923

was advocated and fought for by that body. It insisted that being the popular body it should initiate all appropriation bills. It also fought for the control of the Resident Commissioners in the United States. The law provided that the two representatives in Washington should be elected by the two houses but inasmuch as the intention was to send representatives of the Filipino people and not of the administration and because the upper house was controlled by Americans the assembly argued that it should have the final say as to the choice of these men. There were continuous conflicts on other governmental matters between the lower houses and the appointive commission. Deadlocks were constant on the appropriation bills the representatives of the people being solidly opposed to the financial policies of the American controlled upper house. The provision in the law to the effect that in case of such deadlocks the total sum of the previous appropriation law would upon the advice of the Governor General be considered appropriated for the ensuing year left the popular chamber with very little financial power. Add to this the fact that the upper house or the Philippine Commission had exclusive jurisdiction over the non-Christian parts of the archipelago almost one third of the total area of the islands and we may know just how much power the assembly had. The government then established the mixture of a representative institution and an irresponsible executive and administration was hence very unsatisfactory. That type of government has failed wherever it had been established. It failed in the early English colonies where as in the Philippines the lower house became the stronghold of the people and the governor and his council the representatives of the Crown. It failed in Canada where because of threatened separation from the mother country the system had to be completely abolished and a responsible government established a government wherein not only the lower house is subject to the people's call but also one in which the chief executive merely acts as a passive and ceremonial figure leaving all governmental affairs in the hands of a select body the cabinet responsible to the people or their representatives.

The defect of the system noticeable even after a majority of Filipinos had been given control of the upper house was one of the reasons which led the Congress of the United States in 1916 to enact

more than personal secretaries of the President. Ranking after the presidents of the two houses, these men were looked upon by the Filipinos as their highest representatives, and of them was expected and exacted responsibility not only as administrators but also as the chosen leaders of a people who were on trial as to the capacity of their race. They responded with serious acceptance of these responsibilities.

The council of state "So strong did the cabinet organization become," says Governor Harrison, "that the leaders of the Filipino people, Messrs. Osmena and Quezon, soon decided to raise again the question of their participation in this executive body."¹ At the suggestion of Speaker Osmeña, a council of state was created by executive order late in 1917.

The executive order creating the Council of State described it as a body appointed to advise the governor general, under his presidency, and to be composed of the members of the cabinet and the presidents of both houses of the Legislature.¹ It at once superseded the cabinet as a body, and thenceforth meetings of the council were held weekly. Upon motion of President Quezon, Speaker Osmeña was elected by the council as its vice president and so became once more officially recognized as the "second man" in government circles. The new body drew the executive still closer to the Legislature, and virtually insured the support of any reasonable executive policy among the legislators. It thus greatly enhanced the power of the machinery of government.

With the election of a Republican president Warren G. Harding, and the appointment of General Leonard Wood (Fig. 63) as governor general on October 5, 1921, the inherent defect of the colonial government created by the Jones Law became apparent once more. A more literal interpretation of the executive powers given to the governor general in the Jones Law, and a disposition on the part of the governor general to exercise those powers directly instead of through

¹ Francis Burton Harrison *The Corner-Stone of Philippine Independence* The Century Co. 1922

the representatives of the people as contemplated by the reorganization act and by other laws which had been sanctioned by the American Congress inevitably led to political conflicts in the Philippine Islands. It was claimed for the governor general that the Jones Law vested him with "general supervi-



FIG 63 LEONARD WOOD
Governor General of the Philippines

sion and control of all the departments and bureaus of the government in the Philippine Islands and therefore no legislation enacted by the Philippine Legislature could revoke or modify the powers of the governor general as granted in the organic act. The political controversies characterizing these last few years are but the inevitable defects inherent in the type of government long ago discarded by England in Canada in Australia and in the other self governing dominions where the powers of local government are exercised by the constitutional representative of the

representatives of the people and the representative of the king is a nominal head only.

This conflict inherent in that type of colonial government where the power over domestic affairs is divided between the representatives of the people and the representative of the sovereign power led to the political crisis of July 17 1923. This crisis resulted in the resignation of the Filipino secretaries of departments and the withdrawal of the two presiding

officers of the Legislature from the council of state. Those Filipino officials who took this important step, unprecedented in the political history of the Philippine Islands, were Manuel L. Quezon (Fig. 64), first president of the senate, Manuel Roxas, speaker of the house of representatives, José P. Laurel, secretary of the interior, José Abad Santos, secretary of justice; Rafael Corpus, secretary of agriculture and natural resources; Alberto Barreto, secretary of finance, and Salvador Laguda, secretary of commerce and communication.

Loyalty of Filipinos during the World War. That the Filipino people appreciated the liberal interpretation of the Jones Law and the promise to give them independence contained in the preamble of that act was evidenced by their loyalty to the United States during the World War. Because of this attitude on the part of the people of the Philippines, all attempts to stir them up against the United States proved of no avail. The Philippine Legislature meeting in 1917 passed a resolution voicing "the unequivocal expression of the loyalty of the people of these Islands to the cause of the United States of America"¹. The same Legislature also adopted a joint resolution authorizing the governor-general



FIG 64 MANUEL L. QUEZON
First President of the Senate

¹ Francis Burton Harrison, *The Corner-Stone of Philippine Independence*
The Century Co., 1922

to take all necessary steps for the earliest possible construction under the direction of the Government of the United States and at the expense of the treasury of the Philippine Islands, of a modern submarine and a modern destroyer which shall as soon as

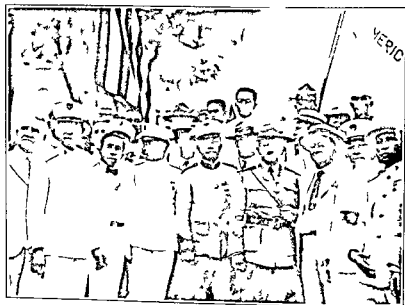


FIG 65 FILIPINO AMERICAN VETERANS

available, be offered to the President of the United States for service in Philippine waters or elsewhere as said President may require or authorize¹

An act of the Legislature authorized the organization of the Philippine National Guard, and its services were offered, but owing to opposition of army officials acceptance of this offer was delayed till after the armistice was declared. Privately many Filipinos enlisted in the United States and of these Tomas Claudio was the first to give his life for the great cause of democracy.

¹ Francis Burton Harrison *The Corner Stone of Philippine Independence*
The Century Co. 1922

The people's "cooperation in the subsidiary activities of war was spontaneous and whole hearted,"¹ says Governor Harrison. A Council of National Defense was organized, consisting of twenty-four American and ten Filipino members, for the purpose of "coordinating the resources and energies of the country for the prosecution of the war."¹ Its work is described by Governor Harrison:

It served, as in the United States, as the official agency for all war work not already covered by the executive departments.¹ Through this agency, German propoganda and insinuations were combated and stamped out, a speakers bureau was formed to educate the people as to the causes of the war and the aims of the United States in the war, campaigns were launched for the Liberty Loans, War-Savings stamps and Red Cross drives were organized, public and private economy was encouraged, sedition prevented, and Americanization instilled throughout the islands.

What did Filipino loyalty mean? Let us see what the governor general then says:

The Filipinos, since the passage by Congress of the Jones Act on August 29, 1916, had reason to believe that the United States was the best friend a small nation could have.¹ Had we not generously and unanimously promised independence when a stable government was set up in the Philippines? Every sentiment, every impulse, every hope of the Filipinos was enlisted in the cause of the United States. Support of the Government appeared unanimous. What this meant in a material sense, it is difficult to estimate, Great Britain is believed to have been obliged to withhold from the main arena of war half a million men to hold down discontented populations in her extensive colonies. The loyalty of the Philippines meant, at the very least, freedom from worry and concern on the part of the home Government at the time of its greatest responsibilities.

Civil government in Mindanao and Sulu One of the outstanding achievements in the development of self government

¹ Francis Burton Harrison *The Corner-Stone of Philippine Independence* The Century Co. 1922

in the Philippines was the successful establishment of civil government in Mindanao and Sulu among the Mohammedan Filipinos

The government of Mindanao and Sulu from 1903 to 1913 was under the control of the military authorities. During the military period the so called Moro province was organized which comprised practically what is today known as Mindanao and Sulu. The most important work of the military period was the pacification of the provinces and the recognition of American sovereignty. This was the first step before the development of agriculture, industry, commerce, education and shipping could be begun. In 1911 a general disarmament was ordered among the Moros and this order met some resistance in Sulu and Lanao. Hence punitive expeditions by military and constabulary authorities had to be undertaken and skirmishes and battles like those at Mount Dajo and Mount Bagsak were fought. The work of the military authorities to bring about peace cannot be overestimated. They prepared the way for the work of reconstruction which fell upon the civil authorities from 1914 up to the present time. It would be misleading however to say that the military authorities limited their work to the establishment of peace alone. In reality they initiated some of the great activities of government which later on were continued in gigantic proportions especially those of public works and public education. They established public dispensaries even in the most remote parts of the province. They built roads to connect distant places.

The first task of the civil authorities in 1914 was to establish a departmental government with almost a free hand in dealing with local affairs. It was subdivided into subprovinces for the purpose of local administration. Later on the department was abolished and the subprovinces were declared provinces. Like the regular provinces they were placed under the direct supervision of the department of the interior through the bureau of non-Christian tribes. Until very recently all the provincial

governors were appointed by the governor-general, and, together with the secretary-treasurer and a third member elected by the councilors of the municipalities, they form the provincial council of each province. All the appointed provincial governors except one are Filipinos. In the election held June 6, 1922, four of the seven provinces of Mindanao and Sulu elected their provincial governors. The representatives and senators representing the non-Christian parts of the Philippines are also Filipinos, the leading ones professing the Mohammedan religion.

On March 11, 1915, an important agreement was signed by the Sultan of Sulu by which he abdicated his rights of sovereignty, retaining only his right to be the head of the Mohammedan Church in the Philippines. This put an end to an anomalous situation. In the words of Governor Harrison:

Under Spain he had exercised *de-jure* and *de-facto* sovereignty in the Sulu Archipelago, except in the ports of Jolo, Siasi, and Bongao.¹ He was then a "protected" sovereign. He never opposed the United States in arms, and never surrendered to our army. He had executed a treaty in 1899 with General Bates which failed of adoption by the United States Senate because it recognized polygamy.

But with the agreement signed in 1915, the Sultan "for himself and his heirs, renounced temporal sovereignty over the Sulu Islands, including the 'right' to collect taxes, the right to decide lawsuits, and the reversionary right to all the lands."¹ In addition to his retention of the headship of the Mohammedan Church, he was given a life pension of ₱12,000, and a grant of land in Jolo. For this diplomatic negotiation credit should go to Governor Frank W. Carpenter, the first chief of the newly created department of Mindanao and Sulu.

The civil government thus established completed the work of bringing about peace which was initiated by the military

¹ Francis Burton Harrison, *The Corner-Stone of Philippine Independence*. The Century Co., 1922.

Public educational work in the Islands is performed under the bureau of education with the central office located in Manila having 37 divisions each in charge of a division superintendent, embracing in all 379 school districts each in charge of a supervising teacher. The total number of schools in operation during the past year [1907] was Primary schools 3435 intermediate schools 162 arts and trades schools 32 agricultural schools 5 domestic science schools 17 and provincial high schools 36 making a total of 3687 and an increase from the previous year as follows 327 primary schools 70 intermediate schools 15 arts and trades schools, 3 agricultural schools and 9 domestic science schools. There are engaged in the teaching of these schools at present 717 permanent American teachers and 109 temporary appointees and all of these are paid out of the central treasury. In addition to these there are what are known as Filipino insular teachers numbering 455, who are paid out of the central treasury. In addition to these there are 5656 municipal Filipino teachers all of whom speak and teach English and who are paid out of the treasuries of the municipalities.

The English language The success of spreading the English language was assured by 1907 according to Mr Taft who said

The influence of the primary instruction in English is shown throughout the Islands by the fact that today more people throughout the Islands outside of Manila and the large cities speak English than speak Spanish.¹ A noticeable result of the government activity in the establishment of English schools has been the added zeal in teaching English in private educational establishments. There is considerable competition in this matter and there seems now to be a united effort to spread the knowledge of English in accordance with the government's policy.

The people's support of education That the people's support of education increased with the increase of their participa-

¹ Special Report of William H. Taft, Secretary of War to the President 1908

tion in their government is the conclusion borne out by an analysis of educational statistics. The first bill approved by the Philippine Assembly in 1907 was an appropriation of P1,000,000 for the building of rural schoolhouses. A law passed in 1908 authorized the establishment of the University of the Philippines. In order to get a more concrete idea of the rapid progress of public education in the Philippine Islands during recent years we give below figures taken from official sources.

Number of pupils. The following table gives the enrollment of pupils in the public schools below the University of the Philippines from the school year 1908-1909 to the school year 1920-1921 and shows the great increase in enrollment during this period:

ENROLLMENT OF PUPILS

YEAR	ENROLLMENT	INCREASE OVER PREVIOUS YEAR	
		Number	Per Cent
1908-1909	570,502	83,826	17
1909-1910	587,317	16,815	2.5
1910-1911	610,493	23,176	3.9
1911-1912	529,665	80,828	13.2 ¹
1912-1913	440,050	89,615	16.9 ¹
1913-1914	621,114	181,064	41
1914-1915	621,114	—	—
1915-1916	638,548	17,434	2.8
1916-1917	675,997	37,449	5.8
1917-1918	671,398	4,599	67 ¹
1918-1919	681,588	10,190	1.5
1919-1920	791,628	110,040	16
1920-1921	943,422	151,794	19

Number of schools. The first table on the following page shows the number of public schools from 1909 to 1920. Its figures show that the people's desire to increase school facilities has been justified.

¹ Decrease

NUMBER OF SCHOOLS

YEAR	PRIMARY	INTER MEDIATE	SECONDARY	TOTAL	INCREASE OVER PREVIOUS YEAR	
					Number	Per Cent
1909	4194	193	37	4424	493	11
1910	4295	198	38	4531	107	2
1911	4121	245	38	4404	127	3 ¹
1912	3364	283	38	3685	719	16 ¹
1913	2595	296	43	2934	751	21 ¹
1914	3913	278	44	4235	1301	40
1915	3837	309	41	4187	48	1 ¹
1916	4143	351	44	4538	351	8
1917	4288	368	46	4702	164	4
1918	4276	423	48	4747	45	1
1919	4412	501	50	4963	216	4
1920	5280	614	50	5944	981	20

The number of schools rose from 2934 in 1913 to 5944 in 1920, an increase of 102 per cent

The average annual decrease of schools from 1909 to 1913 was 200, or 5.4 per cent, while the average yearly increase from 1914 to 1920 was 430

Number of teachers. The number of teachers during the period from 1909 to 1920 also indicates the rapid progress of education.

NUMBER OF TEACHERS

YEAR	FILIPINO TEACHERS	AMERICAN TEACHERS	TOTAL	YEAR	FILIPINO TEACHERS	AMERICAN TEACHERS	TOTAL
1909	8774	825	9,599	1915	9,845	538	10,383
1910	9007	732	9,739	1916	10,963	506	11,469
1911	9086	683	9,769	1917	12,303	477	12,780
1912	8360	664	9,024	1918	13,227	406	13,633
1913	7671	658	8,329	1919	14,433	374	14,807
1914	9462	612	10,074	1920	17,575	341	17,916

¹ Decrease

Amount of money spent. There has likewise been a constant increase in the amount spent in education. The following table shows the amount spent from 1907 to 1920.

EXPENDITURES FOR EDUCATION (IN THOUSANDS OF PESOS)

YEAR	INSULAR	PROVIN- CIAL	MUNICI- PAL	VOLUN- TARY CONTRIBU- TIONS	TOTAL	INCREASE OVER PRE- VIOUS YEAR	
						Amount	Per Cent
1907	3,112	217	1,508	1	4,837	151	3
1908	3,498	228	1,672	1	5,398	561	11
1909	3,924	285	2,134	1	6,343	944	18
1910	5,412	209	2,516	1	8,137	1,794	17
1911	3,998	708	2,375	1	6,531	1,606	17 ¹
1912	4,254	277	2,211	174	6,916	385	3
1913	4,471	386	2,456	109	7,512	797	12
1914	4,590	473	2,303	344	7,710	198	2.6
1915	4,905	443	2,165	375	7,888	178	.2
1916	4,708	464	2,395	352	7,919	31	4
1917	5,177	431	3,615	479	9,702	1,783	23
1918	6,068	716	4,099	617	11,500	1,798	18
1919	10,188	468	3,716	683	15,055	3,455	31
1920	12,802	450	4,368	800	18,420	3,365	23

It will be seen that the total amount spent for public education for seven years from 1907 to 1913 was P45,674,000, while the amount spent for seven years from 1914 to 1920 was P78,194,000, which means an increase of P32,520,000, or 71 per cent, over the first period. The average amount spent each year during the first period (1907-1913) was P6,524,900, while the average amount spent each year for the second period (1914-1920) was P11,170,600.

The cost per student based on total expenditures and the average daily attendance for all schools in 1908 was P18.26, in 1914, P16.52, and in 1920, P28.97. The per capita cost of education was P0.50 in 1903, P0.59 in 1907, P0.79 in 1914, and P1.81 in 1920.

¹ No data available.² Decrease

In 1918 the Philippine Legislature made its largest appropriation, ₱30,705 824, for free elementary instruction for five years. Luther B. Bewley, Director of Education, says

The inauguration of the extension program has given such great impetus to the growth of the public schools and has given such great encouragement to the people who are most vitally interested in the growth of these schools that in spite of the fact that only about 15 per cent of the total sum appropriated in Act 2782 was available for expenditure during 1919 and 1920 (the first two years of the five year period mentioned above) surprising results have been attained among the most important of which are: The opening of 1713 new primary schools, the opening of 226 new intermediate schools, the employment of 6302 additional primary and intermediate teachers, the abolition of the collection of tuition fees in intermediate schools, an increase in the annual enrollment in the primary and intermediate grades of 211 768 pupils, a large increase in the number of primary and intermediate school buildings, an increase of 52 per cent in the average monthly salary paid municipal teachers.

Permanent school buildings The number of school buildings constructed up to 1913 was 624. In 1920 the number was 1046. From 1914 to 1920 therefore 67 per cent more buildings were erected than from 1902 to 1913.

Salaries of Filipino teachers The increase of salaries of Filipino teachers is another mark of progress.

SALARIES OF FILIPINO TEACHERS (₱ PESOS PER MONTH)

YEAR	MUNICIPAL TEACHER	INSULAR TEACHER	YEAR	MUNICIPAL TEACHER	INSULAR TEACHER
1909	17 8	43 97	1914	21 34	50 77
1910	18 2	44 66	1915	22 05	56 32
1911	18 5	45 15	1916	22 88	55 88
1912	19 3	40 88	1917	23 98	56 58
1913	21 5		1918	25 72	59 75
			1919	30 65	65 83
				37 86	71 76
Average annual increase	0 85			75	3 49

The average yearly increase in monthly salary from 1909 to 1913 was P0.85 per month for municipal teachers and P1.58 for insular teachers, while the average yearly increase from 1914 to 1920 was P2.75 per month for municipal teachers and P3.49 for insular teachers. It will be observed that while the increase from 1909 to 1913 was P3.42 per month for municipal teachers and P6.34 for insular teachers, the increase from 1916 to 1920 was P14.98 per month for municipal teachers and P15.88 for insular teachers.

The University of the Philippines. The rapid growth of the University of the Philippines is still another striking characteristic of our educational progress.

ACADEMIC-YEAR ATTENDANCE¹

1911-1912	1400	1917-1918	3298
1912-1913 . .	1398	1918-1919	3336
1913-1914	1502	1919-1920	3441
1914-1915 .	2075	1920-1921	3878
1915-1916 .	2398	1921-1922	4718
1916-1917	2975		

Equal opportunity for all. Thus, by means of the public-school system there is offered to the boys and girls in the Philippines an opportunity to develop their personalities to the extent of their individual capacities. The ideal behind this great system of public education is the preparation of the individual for the performance of his social tasks — first, to endow him with ability to earn his own living, and secondly, to enable him to take part in those social activities which are required of the citizen in a democratic community.

Intellectual awakening manifested in periodicals and libraries. Educational progress as well as the greater participa-

¹ See annual reports of the Director of Education for various years. Census of the Philippine Islands 1903, 1918, A Survey of the Educational System of the Philippine Islands, 1925.

Quarantine in Spanish times was lax. The American Army medical authorities took hold of the matter of sanitation in their usual thorough way and made much progress in the matter of quarantine and in correcting glaringly insanitary conditions in Manila. It remained for the civil government to effect a thorough organization of a health department which could do permanent good.

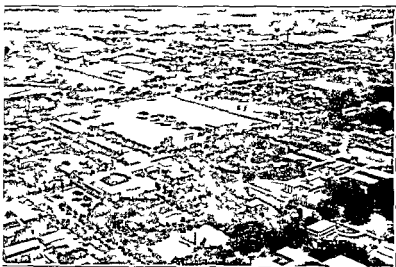


FIG 66 MANILA AFTER AMERICAN DEVELOPMENT

Since Mr Taft wrote his report in 1908, there has been much progress in sanitation. The table below indicates the increasing financial support given by the legislature to health work.

PHILIPPINE HEALTH SERVICE APPROPRIATIONS

F R	AMOUNT	YEAR	AMOUNT
909	P1 524 530 36	1916	P1 303 488 77
910	1 851 324 18	1917	1 253 656 08
911	1 994 730 33	1918	2 014 230 80
912	1 892 353 78	1919	2 827 536 00
913	2 24 103 75	1920	3 453 828 00
914	1 356 358 90	1921	3 053 828 00
915	1 466 460 87		

Prior to 1909 there was only one organization devoted to infant welfare work. With the creation of a public welfare board to take charge of charity and infant welfare activities hundreds of women's clubs, puericulture centers and maternity homes have been established and are doing splendid service in the prevention of infant mortality — one of the gravest social problems confronting the Filipino people.

Before 1909 there were only 100 artesian wells and one water system in the whole country but by the end of 1919 there were 2547 artesian wells and 51 water systems. There has also been an increase in the number of public dispensaries and hospitals. In recent years the policy of constructing a permanent hospital building in every province has been inaugurated. Soon it will no longer be possible to say that the only permanent structure built since American occupation is the concrete school building. The cement hospital building will also characterize the present regime and will typify the culmination of American Filipino achievement in tropical health development.

IV RELIGIOUS PROGRESS

Religious progress. It will be recalled that the secularization of the parishes was one of the national issues defended by the Filipinos. This demand for the Filipinization of the clergy was strengthened by the political triumphs of the people under Aguinaldo. During the critical period of the Philippine Revolution in 1898 when many Spaniards including the friars were held prisoners by the Filipino army and before the treaty of Paris had settled the fate of the Philippines, Father Gregorio Aglipay received favorable assurances from the authorities of the Catholic Church that the Filipino clergy of the Philippine Republic would be recognized by the Pope. In fact the Bishop of Nueva Segovia while a prisoner of the Filipinos appointed Aglipay as ecclesiastical governor of his diocese. Meanwhile Aguinaldo appointed Aglipay First Military Chaplain of the

Insurgent Army," and on October 28, 1898, made him vicar-general of the Philippines

An ecclesiastical assembly held in Tarlac on October 23, 1899, approved Aguinaldo's appointment of Aglipay as head of the Filipino Church. However, the assembly recognized alle-

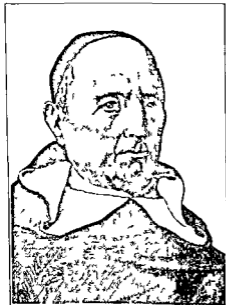


FIG 67 THE HIGHEST CHURCH OFFICIAL IN THE SPANISH PHILIPPINE GOVERNMENT

Courtesy of Dr. Pardo de Tavera

giance to Rome, and resolved to ask the Pope to recognize the Filipino clergy and appoint Filipino bishops. Isabelo de los Reyes, then a writer of note in Spain, was to intercede in Rome in behalf of the Filipino clergy. He did approach the papal delegate in Spain, promising the release of the captive friars for concessions to the Filipino clergy, but the delegate refused. Los Reyes went back to the Philippines determined to break with Rome. In the meantime, events did not turn out as expected by Aglipay and his followers.

The friars were not removed, although the political troubles arising from their ownership of large tracts of land were done away with by purchase of the lands. On October 17, 1902, Aglipay formally separated from Rome and soon thereafter celebrated mass as "Obispo Maximo of the Philippine Independent Church." The rapidly growing national sentiment of the people became manifest in the manner in which this new national church was hailed and welcomed everywhere.

The establishment of the Philippine Independent Church, however, led to serious questions relative to the ownership of the churches and convents in the towns. In many cases the priests seceding from Rome retained control of the churches under them, and the people claimed the right to keep them for the new denomination. After litigation this question was decided against the contention of the Independent Church.



FIG. 68 CHURCH AT BARASOAIN, WHERE THE MALOLOS CONGRESS WAS HELD

Although this legal defeat checked the first rapid growth of the new church, it has at present one of the largest lists of adherents in the country. Its greatest problem today is not the acquisition of appropriate buildings for worship but the training of new religious leaders to take the place of the old pioneers who are passing away.

Another interesting feature of Filipino religious development was the advent of Protestant denominations immediately following American occupation. It will be recalled that the Malolos constitution of the Philippine Republic provided for

the freedom and equality of religious worship, as well as the separation of the Church and the State" The treaty of Paris, President McKinley's instructions the Philippine Bill, and the Jones Law all guarantee freedom of worship This much coveted right did not become a living reality in the minds of the Filipino people until various new Christian churches were actually established and the people joined them as they pleased

Will the Filipino aspiration to assume a more responsible religious leadership in the Philippines come to fruition under the regime of freedom that now prevails? The Philippines hold a unique position in being the only Christian country in the Orient The various Christian denominations are vying with each other in the claim that their final objective is the training of Filipino religious leaders to whom will be intrusted the task of keeping the flame of Christianity burning in this part of the world Will the Filipinoization of the Christian churches ever become a reality? That is one of the spiritual problems of today in the Philippines¹

V ECONOMIC PROGRESS

General consideration The economic prosperity following the opening of the ports, as already discussed in the preceding chapter, was disturbed by the chaos attending the revolution of 1896, the renewed armed conflict in 1898, and the Filipino American war, which lasted till 1902 During this period commerce and agriculture were paralyzed The two important factors of economic progress were suffering from the attacks of deadly enemies population was being decimated by a terrible epidemic of cholera, and the work animals in the fields were killed by rinderpest

¹ See James A LeRoy *The Americans in the Philippines* Vol II chap xxvii Houghton Mifflin Company 1914 See also Frank C Laubach *The People of the Philippines* chaps viii ix xi xii xxvii

The establishment of civil government in the Philippines, however, and the earnest cooperation of the people to maintain the peaceful condition required as a prerequisite to further extension of their political rights, made possible the return of economic prosperity. On the whole, a steady economic progress characterizes the period of American occupation (Fig. 69). This progress we shall now undertake briefly to summarize.

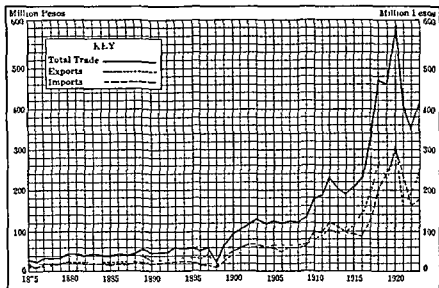


FIG 69 IMPORTS, EXPORTS, AND TOTAL FOREIGN TRADE OF THE PHILIPPINES, 1875-1923

The growth of foreign commerce; America's predominance. Two outstanding features characterize Philippine foreign commerce during the period we are studying: the increase of exports and of imports, and the remarkable increase of trade — both export and import — with the United States. The Philippine export products have remained the same, — namely, hemp, tobacco, coconut products, and sugar, — except that the last two have become comparatively more important (Figs. 70, 75). The imports have consisted of various kinds of machinery, construction materials, motor cars and accessories, and textile

goods, chiefly cotton (Fig 74) The diagrams on pages 428 and 429 show more vividly the steadily increasing predominance of the United States in Philippine foreign trade (Figs 72, 73) This American commercial predominance is but the natural effect of the American protective policy as manifested in tariff

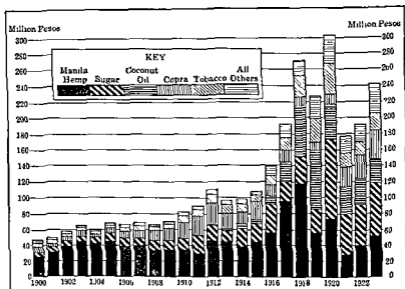


FIG 70 VALUES OF PRINCIPAL PHILIPPINE EXPORTS

regulations applied to the Philippines Protection of American manufactures has been the keynote of Philippine tariff legislation¹

Another feature of Philippine commercial development during the American period is the increase of trade with Japan, exceeding even that with the United Kingdom (Fig. 71). In case of hemp, the United States and the United Kingdom

¹ See a recent valuable study by José S Reyes, Ph D, *Legislative History of America's Economic Policy toward the Philippines* Longmans, Green & Co 1923 Another valuable reference book is *Commercial Handbook of the Philippine Islands* Bureau of Commerce 1924 See also *Census of the Philippine Islands 1918* Vol IV, Part II, and Charles B Elliot, *The Philippines*, Vol II, chap 111 The Bobbs-Merrill Company 1917

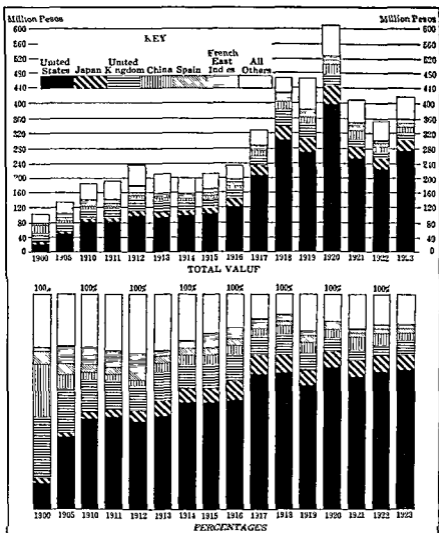


FIG 71 PHILIPPINE TRADE WITH PRINCIPAL COUNTRIES

were the great buyers of the Philippine production even before the American occupation, but in recent years Japan has bought more than the United Kingdom (Fig 76) Less sugar has been exported to China and Hongkong and more to the United States and Japan (Fig 76) Copra products used to go to France but in recent years the United States has

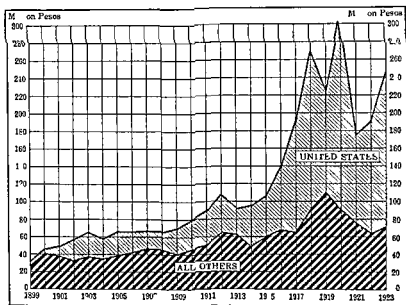


FIG 72 GROWTH IN TOTAL EXPORTS TO THE UNITED STATES AND OTHER COUNTRIES

absorbed most of them (Fig 77) In Spain only Philippine tobacco products have been maintained to a considerable extent in the market (Fig 77)

Currency reform an aid to commerce As a part of the policy of encouraging commerce and trade the Philippine Commission realized the necessity of adopting gold as the standard of Philippine currency, for as long as the principal currency was Mexican money the ratio of exchange would be subject to constant fluctuations owing to changes in the market value of

silver, especially as affected by the demands of the Chinese market. Accordingly, by act of March 3, 1903, Congress established the present currency system based on a gold standard, as recommended by Charles A. Conant.¹ This currency reform had a stabilizing influence on commerce, for gold, being less subject to fluctuations in value, is a better standard of value than silver.

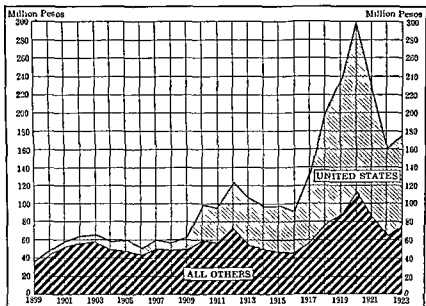


FIG 73 GROWTH IN TOTAL IMPORTS FROM THE UNITED STATES AND OTHER COUNTRIES

Progress of agriculture — friar lands. The first agrarian problem which the American régime inherited from the Spanish was the disposition of the friar estates. The political significance of this question required its immediate solution. Mr. Taft described the situation as follows:

A² most potential source of disorder in the Islands was the ownership of what were called the "friars' lands" by three of the religious

¹ Reports of Secretary of Finance and Justice in Philippine Commission Reports 1900-1903

² Special Report by William H. Taft, Secretary of War, to the President, 1908

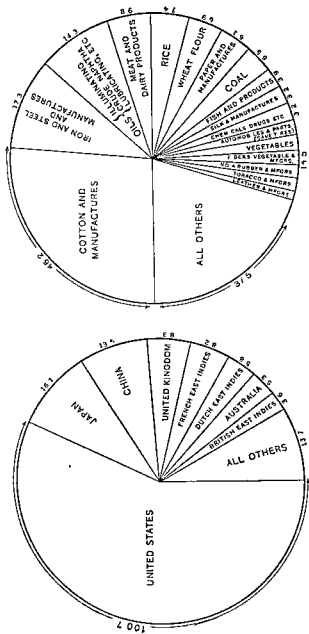


FIG 74 IMPORTS INTO THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS, 1923

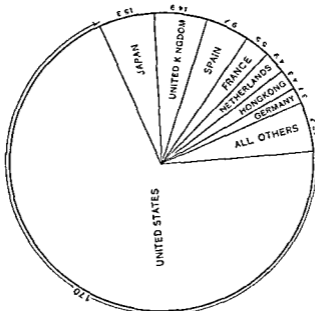
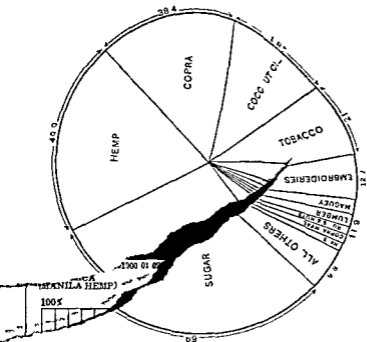


FIG 75 EXPORTS FROM THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS, 1923

results of fifteen years' labor have not been very satisfactory. The comparative failure has been due in part to bad administration, but principally to the inherent difficulties of the situation. In the early days the Bureau of Agriculture misjudged the problem and by the time it learned that the natives must be taught to produce more of the staple products of the country by the use of modern machinery and better methods of cultivation and that this can be accomplished only by actual demonstration on the ground, it was engaged in a struggle with animal diseases which absorbed much of its funds and energies.

In 1902 a bureau of agriculture was organized, but the directing personnel, not knowing much about Philippine agricultural conditions, devoted more attention to the introduction of new plants. "The dominant idea then seemed to be that what the Philippines really needed was garden seeds." There were fine scientific bulletins issued, but there was no practical demonstration to the farmers. However, agricultural stations were established to serve as experimental and model farms. But the idea of directly cooperating with the farmers is of recent development. It is, however, the government aid which promises to give the most satisfactory results; for in this way the farmers learn by actually seeing the government experts do the work in cooperation with some actual enterprise, and concrete results can at once be measured in terms of actual conditions prevailing in the community.

Factors of increased production. More because of the growing demand for our products than because of government efforts, agricultural production has steadily increased since the American occupation. The World War, especially, created a great demand for our staple crops, and encouraged further production. According to the Census of 1918 all the principal products — hemp, coconuts, sugar cane, tobacco, rice, and corn — had increased considerably since the Census of 1903.¹ In connection with increased production, however, the great in-

¹ See Census of the Philippine Islands, 1918, Vol. III

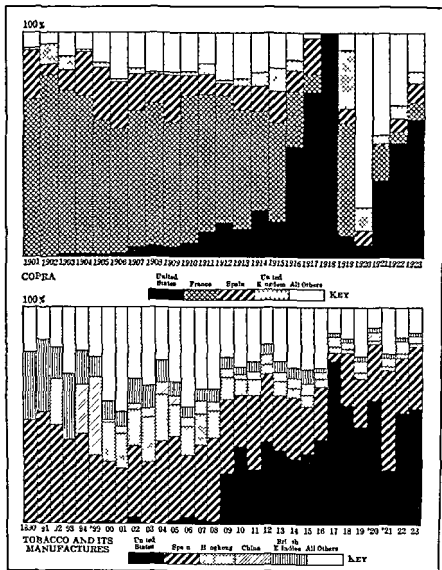


FIG 77 PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF LEADING EXPORTS — COPRA AND TOBACCO

fluence exerted by the Philippine bureau of education in its program of agricultural education should be mentioned. The correlated production in the thousands of school gardens all over the archipelago is an important factor in our agricultural progress¹

Other factors affecting agricultural progress. There were other factors that benefited agriculture. The irrigation system

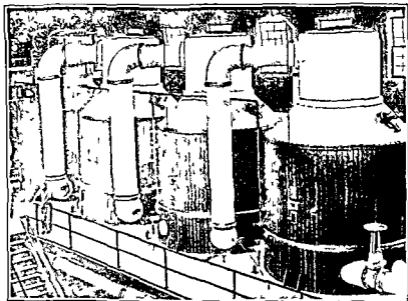


FIG 78 MODERN EQUIPMENT IN A SUGAR CENTRAL

was initiated and is still in process of completion. An agricultural bank was organized in 1908; but it had a slow growth, owing to the fact that the small landholders, who most needed banking facilities, had no Torrens title to their lands and therefore were unable to take advantage of the government bank. This bank was absorbed by the Philippine National Bank in 1916. Rural credit associations were authorized by

¹ See annual reports of Director of Education for detailed information about the agricultural activities of the schools.

law in 1916. The idea behind this plan was to encourage its members to accumulate capital, and out of this accumulated capital to extend credit, on reasonable terms, to those needing it. By 1920 there were 527 associations organized, and in 1923 the number had increased to 551.

This period is also characterized by increase in the use of agricultural machinery (Fig 79), as may be seen from the following table of imports during the given years.

KINDS OF MACHINERY IMPORTED

KINDS OF MACHINERY	1903	1913	1923
Sugar machinery	26,056	2,000,990	398,942
Steam tractors, portable	—	178,960	79,462
Fiber-stripping and baling machinery	—	23,968	14,476
Rice threshers, hullers, cleaners	—	209,818	128,284
Agricultural implements	2,660	67,144	132,342 ¹

Agricultural lands. Even before the American occupation, as shown in the Census of 1903, "by far the largest proportion of the 815,453 Christian farmers own the land they cultivate," and this "percentage of owners is much larger in the Islands than in the United States." This proportion was 80.8 per cent. It is also of interest to note that 99.8 per cent of the total number of farmers were *Filipinos* in 1903. There were at that time only 778 Europeans and Americans engaged in farming.²

According to the Census of 1918 the number of farms had increased to 1,955,276, thus showing an increase of 1,139,823 farms over 1903. Of this total number of farms Filipinos owned 1,946,580, covering an area of 4,480,865 hectares, and foreigners, including Americans, owned 8696 farms, comprising 82,852 hectares. In 1919 over 12 per cent of the land was under cultivation (Fig. 80).

¹ See *Commercial Handbook of the Philippine Islands*, chap. v. Bureau of Commerce, 1924

² See Census of the Philippine Islands, 1903, Vol. IV

Congressional policy What explains the comparatively small area taken by Americans? The reason for this apparent lack of interest on the part of Americans to exploit agricultural lands is to be traced to the organic act approved by Congress in 1902 section 15 of which reads as follows

That the Government of the Philippine Islands is hereby authorized and empowered on such terms as it may prescribe by general

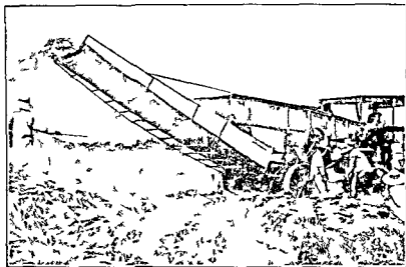


FIG 79 THE THRESHING MACHINE FOR RICE INTRODUCED AFTER AMERICAN OCCUPATION

legislation to provide for the granting or sale and conveyance to actual occupants and settlers and other citizens of said islands such parts and portions of the public domain other than timber and mineral lands of the United States in said islands as it may deem wise not exceeding sixteen hectares to any one person and for the sale and conveyance of not more than one thousand and twenty four hectares to any corporation or association of persons

Were it not for this limitation more corporations would have bought lands and gone into agriculture. But the law was intended to preserve the public lands for the Filipinos

Development of other industries — lumbering, mining, fishing. Of the extractive industries, lumbering has received considerable attention since American occupation. The production of lumber for export by large corporations is the result of foreign initiative, chiefly American and Chinese. It has been estimated that already a total of ₱10,130,000 capital has been invested in this industry by forty-one companies¹

Mining, especially of gold, has been developed on a real commercial basis only since the American occupation. That this industry has assumed considerable importance only in recent years is shown by the statistics of production.

The nonmetallic minerals cement and coal are of recent development. Following the policy of government initiative in developing industries, the Legislature during Governor Harrison's administration enacted laws creating the National Cement Company, the National Coal Company, the National Iron Company, and the National Petroleum Company. Of these only those intended to produce cement and coal were able to operate and actually sell their products in the market. The administration of Governor Leonard Wood is opposed to the continuance of the government in business, and it is likely that in the future no official support will be given these national companies. Of course, they were created on the assumption that independence was soon coming and it was necessary to prepare the country along economic lines.

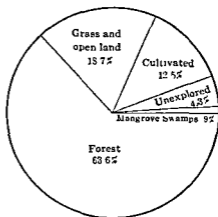


FIG. 80 CLASSIFIED LAND AREA OF THE PHILIPPINES, 1919

¹ See Census of the Philippine Islands, 1918, Vol III See also *Commercial Handbook of the Philippine Islands*, chap vi Bureau of Commerce, 1924

What Japan did fifty years ago was what the legislators aimed to do when they took the initiative in developing industries

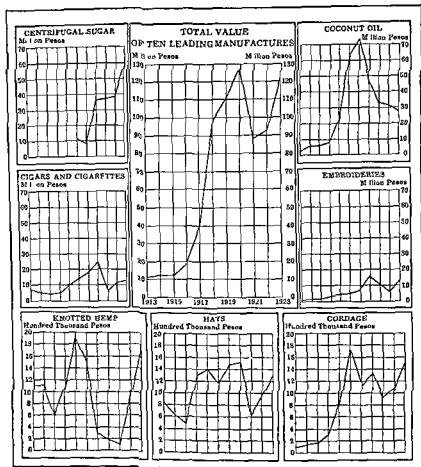


FIG 81 VALUES OF PRINCIPAL MANUFACTURED ARTICLES EXPORTED FROM 1913 TO 1923

Japan encouraged individuals to go into industries, and as private initiative was lacking, the government opened the way.¹

¹ See "The Mineral Resources of the Philippine Islands" Bureau of Science Publication Manila. See also *Commercial Handbook of the Philippine Islands*, chap. VII Bureau of Commerce, 1924

Fishing is a most important industry for the life of the people, and yet it has not received the attention and development it deserves even since the American occupation. On the whole, there has been no progress made either in the culture of fish or in the method of catching them. In fact, importation of fish products has increased considerably, and the consumption of imported salmon and sardines, especially those coming from America, is on the increase. The scientific encouragement of this industry and the method of inducing the people to go into it as a profitable means of earning a living constitute one of the unsolved economic problems of today.¹

Progress in manufacturing (Fig 81) Before the coming of America the manufacture of tobacco products was practically the only one developed on a large scale. But the World War gave a decided impetus to manufacturing, especially of centrifugal sugar and coconut oil. The first sugar central was established in 1910 by the Mindoro Sugar Company (Fig 82). By 1922 there were all together thirty one sugar centrals in operation, with a capacity of 22,970 tons of cane per day. The majority of these centrals are owned by Filipinos, and most of them are located on the island of Negros.

The coconut oil mill (Fig 83) is also of recent development. Before 1914, when the World War broke out, there was only one oil mill in the Philippines. By 1918 there were thirty one mills which required more coconuts than the whole country could produce, there was, therefore an excessive number of mills for this country, and when peace came and the demand for oil diminished the majority of these mills had to stop operating.

Knotted hemp, hats, cordage, embroideries — these are the new articles appearing in our list of exports during recent years. In 1914 the total value of embroidery exported was ₱324,912. This increased to ₱15,623,567 in 1920. Shoe and button manu-

¹ See Census of the Philippine Islands 1918 Vol IV Part I. See also *Commercial Handbook of the Philippine Islands* chap. VIII Bureau of Commerce 1924.

facturing, the making of desiccated coconut, and the production of electricity are some of the more important manufactures developed in recent years ¹

Philippine National Bank. In line with the legislative policy of helping the people to engage in economic activities, the Philippine National Bank was created in 1916. The majority of its stock was owned by the government. This bank was authorized to make not only commercial loans but also agricultural and

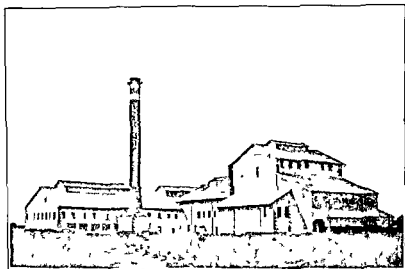


FIG. 82 SUGAR CENTRAL AT SAN JOSÉ, MINDORO

industrial loans. During the prosperity incidental to the period of the World War it invested heavily in new manufacturing enterprises, chiefly in six coconut oil mills and sugar centrals, which were then rapidly coming into existence because of the unusual demand for oil and sugar in the world's markets. The bank lost heavily in these investments, but it is now certain that the sugar centrals will soon be able to pay their debts because of the continued good condition of the sugar market.

¹ See Census of the Philippine Islands, 1918, Vol. IV. See also *Commercial Handbook of the Philippine Islands*, chap. ix. Bureau of Commerce, 1924.

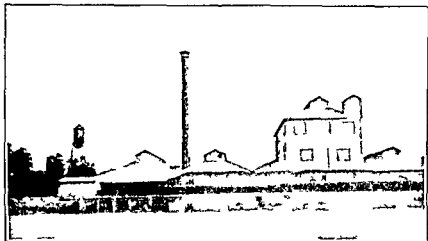


FIG 83 TYPE OF MODERN COCONUT OIL MILL IN CEBU

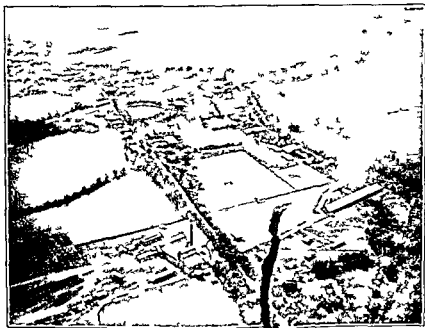


FIG 84 AIRPLANE VIEW OF THE SAN FERNANDO SUGAR CENTRAL
TYPICAL OF THE LATEST PROGRESS IN THE SUGAR INDUSTRY

Roads. The first act passed by the Philippine Commission appropriated two million Mexican pesos for the construction and improvement of roads in the Philippines. "In no other respect are the islands so backward as in the lack of inter-communication between the towns of the interior" was the statement of Mr Taft in 1902.

The Census of 1903 reported.

Land transportation in the rural districts of the Philippine Islands is not easy for wheeled vehicles at any time, and during the rainy season in many places is entirely impracticable.¹ A great deal was done by the army during the period of military government toward improving land communication by grading and ditching the road and constructing bridges, but the work was usually of a temporary character and hurriedly carried on to facilitate military operations.

Prior to 1908 there was no system in the construction of roads, and roads were allowed to deteriorate, since there was no regular provision for maintenance. But in 1907 the double cedula law was passed, by which the provincial board was authorized to double the cedula and add the extra sum to the provincial road and bridge fund. In order to induce the provinces to do this, 10 per cent of the internal revenue receipts was given to the province doubling the cedula tax. All the provinces doubled the cedula and secured the benefits of the law. Since then the appropriations for roads have increased, and the economic and social effects of the increased means of inter-communication have been incalculable.² The formulation of a policy for the extension of maintenance of public highways was the work of W. Cameron Forbes as secretary of commerce and police and, later, governor-general (Fig. 86).

Railways. The early policy of the Philippine Commission with reference to railroad construction in the Philippines was

¹ Census of the Philippine Islands, 1903, Vol. IV.

² See Charles B. Elliot, *The Philippines*, Vol. II, chap. XIII. The Bobbs Merrill Company, 1917. See also Philippine Commission Report, 1907, Vol. II, pp. 275-279, and W. Cameron Forbes "The Present Road Policy," in Philippine Commission Report, 1908, Vol. II, pp. 47²-484.

based on the fact that the Manila Railway Company Limited an English corporation which ever since 1892 had been running the railroad from Manila to Dagupan had not found it a profitable investment Therefore the Commission came to the conclusion that the government should pursue the policy of encouraging capital in railroad construction by guaran

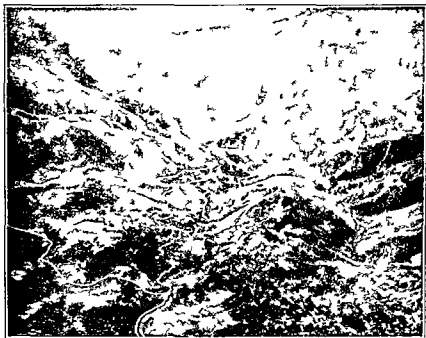


FIG 85 AIRPLANE VIEW OF THE BENGUET ROAD BUILT SINCE THE AMERICAN OCCUPATION

teeing the payment of 4 per cent interest on the money invested This policy was subsequently approved by Congress ¹

The Manila Railroad Company was then organized in the United States and given a perpetual franchise including the existing old line This company built new lines on Luzon beginning in 1906 In 1916 however the government purchased the stock of the railroad because the company had issued bonds

¹ See Philippine Commission Report 1900-1903 p 184

for which the government had guaranteed interest at 4 per cent and, as the railroad was not making any profits, it was

Office of the Governor-General
of the Philippine Islands

Sept 10, 1921

I shall always have the best
interests of the Philippine people
very close to my heart. My
ambition has been to build them
roads along which they could
travel to greater heights of
political and cultural as
well as material development

I hope the people will see
this with my eyes & passion
this heritage
William Forbes

FIG. 86 FACSIMILE OF A LETTER BY GOVERNOR GENERAL FORBES

thought advisable to have its ownership and administration in the government. It was also alleged that the defense of the Philippines required that this most important public utility should be controlled by the government. Moreover, it was

shown that, with the exception of those in the United States, at that time most of the railroad lines in the world were owned and operated by the state¹

The Philippine Railway Company was granted the concession for the building of railroads in Panay, Cebu and Negros, and received privileges similar to those which were granted the Manila Railroad Company.²

Postal and telegraph service. Like other departments of the early American government, the postal service was at first in the hands of the military authorities, but on May 1, 1900, it was turned over to the civil government. On July 1, 1901, the money-order department was made independent of the United States government. This service was new in the Philippines, but it soon found favor with the people. In 1906 negotiations were started for the establishment of direct money order service with Japan. The Secretary of War authorized the Philippine government to make its own postal arrangements with Oriental countries. In 1912 a parcels-post service was inaugurated, — even before it was introduced in the United States



FIG 87 JOSÉ MARÍA PEÑARANDA

He played a very important rôle in the program for public improvement (Courtesy of Dr. Pardo de Tavera)

¹ See message of the Governor General to the Legislature, in Philippine Commission Report, 1915, pp 49-52

² See Charles B. Elliot, *The Philippines*, Vol II, chap xiv. The Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1917

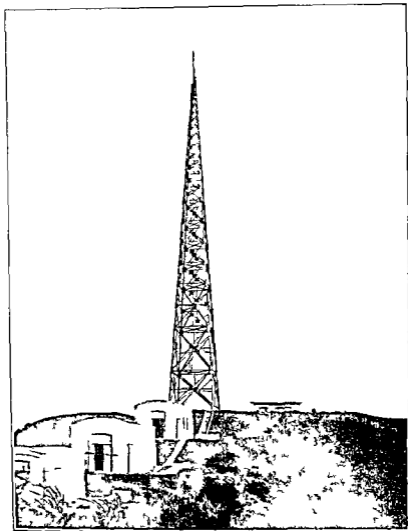


FIG 88 THE WIRELESS STATION AT BASCO

The telegraph system originally operated by the constabulary was transferred to the bureau of posts. The government has also been operating an interisland telegraph and cable system. In recent years it has established wireless communication (Fig 88) throughout the Islands.

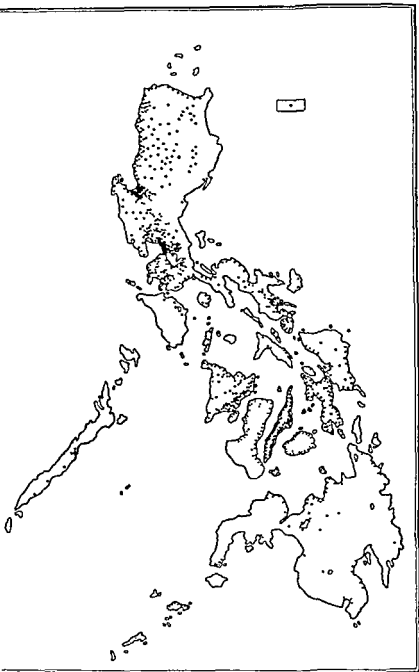


FIG 89 DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION IN 1918
Each dot represents 10 000 people

need of the present is for a greater application of the same spirit to the realm of trade and industry. Economic patriotism should be the slogan of the day.

Economic patriotism however is only the instrumentality of a higher idealism. Consciousness of the physical greatness of their territory — its potential capacity to support a great nation — is essential to the making of a new nation. Consciousness that the Filipinos do not belong to a race that is dying out, but are full of vitality and hope for the future is an important factor in national progress. And finally, a conviction that the Filipino people are destined to carry on as an independent democracy in the Far East the political idealism of America — her greatest contribution to human progress — should be an essential Filipino tradition. For to paraphrase an American historian speaking of America our destiny is not the making of money, but the making of the Philippines. Our heritage of political ideals is a far richer possession than our heritage of material resources, for if the ideals be lost or obscured all the treasures of field, factory, and mine cannot avail to save us from the fate of Nineveh or Rome.¹

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QUESTIONS AND TOPICS FOR FURTHER STUDY

1. Trace the events which led to the coming of America to the Philippines (References Nos 1, 2, 3)
2. Describe the organization of the Filipino government after the return of Aguinaldo (References Nos 1, 2, 3)
3. How was Manila captured? (Reference No 2)
- 4 Investigate further the reasons why America decided to keep the Philippines (Reference No 4)
- 5 What was the cause of the Filipino-American war? (References Nos 1, 2, 3)
6. Trace the growth of self government since the American occupation (References Nos 4, 7, 19)
7. Why did Mr Taft consider it impolitic to promise the granting of independence?

8 Did the American policy previous to the Jones Law of 1916 consider the possibility that a self governing Filipino people might demand permanent political relationship with America?

9 In your opinion how did the Jones Law affect that possibility and the policy enunciated by Mr Taft?

10 What was the effect of greater self government on the attitude of the people? (Reference No 11)

11 What fundamental changes were effected by the Jones Law? (References Nos 4 11)

12 How was the Jones Law interpreted and carried into effect? (Reference No 11)

13 In your opinion did the Jones Law do away with the old source of conflict between a representative assembly and a commission appointed by the president of the United States?

14 Study the governments of the different English colonies and show how England has put an end to colonial representative institutions and the representative of the king (References Nos 11 19)

15 What was the reason for the organization of the council of state? (References Nos 11 12)

16 What was the significance of civil government in Mindanao and Sulu? (Reference No 12)

17 Trace educational progress since the American occupation

18 Has the teaching of English in the schools been a success? Why? (References Nos 10 22)

19 Has individual welfare been improved during the last twenty five years? How? (Reference No 12)

20 Trace economic progress during the last twenty five years (References Nos 7 8 11 12 15 16 17 18 19 20)

21 Are Filipinos encouraged to take up economic activities at present? How?

22 In your opinion will Filipinos succeed in trade? Give your reasons

APPENDIX

AMERICAN GOVERNORS GENERAL OF THE PHILIPPINES¹

July 4 1901	WILLIAM HOWARD TAFT (civil governor)
Feb 1, 1904	LUKE L. WRIGHT
April 12, 1906	H. C. IDE
Sept 20 1906	JAMES F. SMITH
Nov 11, 1909	W. CAMERON FORBES
Oct 6, 1913	FRANCIS BURTON HARRISON
March 3 1921	VICE GOVERNOR CHARLES E. YEATER (acting governor-general)
Oct 15 1921	LEONARD WOOD

¹The first government under the American administration was a purely military one in 1898, the first governor was a military governor. The military rule ended July 4 1901 when Taft was made civil governor. Beginning with Wright, the governors were called governors general.

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[f stands for "following page," ff for "following pages"]

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